MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF MEDICI.

VOL. II.

176 e 13

MEMOIRS
OF THE
HOUSE OF MEDICI,
FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE DEATH OF GARZIA,
AND OF THE
GREAT MEN WHO FLOURISHED IN TUSCANY WITHIN THAT PERIOD.

From the FRENCH of Mr. TENHOVE,
WITH
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,
BY SIR RICHARD CLAYTON, BART.

VOL. II.

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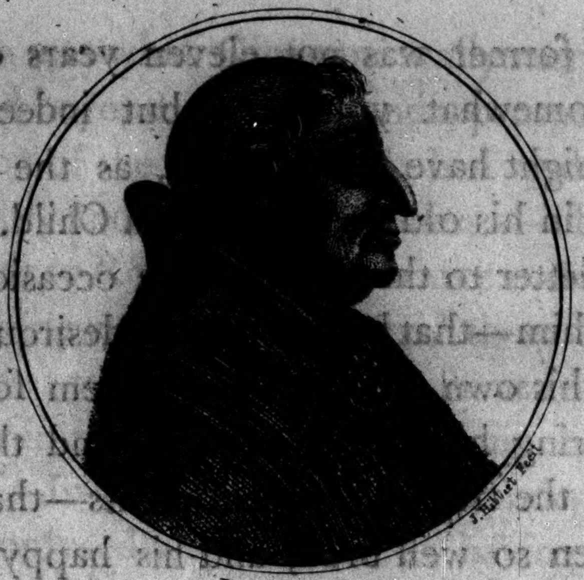

LEO X.

CHAP. VII.

Giovanni de' Medici.

GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, the son of Lorenzo "the "Father of the Muses," destined from his infancy for the Church, was pushed at once very far in his spiritual career, where fortune had such brilliant views for him. Archbishop at ten years of age, and a Cardinal at fourteen, he was the first example of these premature promotions.—His elevation was the more surprising, as Paul, the last predecessor but one of Innocent the VIIIth, the author of Giovanni's promotion, had issued an ordinance by which a Cardinal was to be above thirty years of age, and to be also a Professor of Theology.—The two youngest Cardinals on record are Odet de Chatillon, Bishop of Beauvais brother of the great Admiral Coligny, and the infant brother of Philip the

IVth. The former was not eleven years of age, and the latter somewhat younger; but indeed Giovanni de' Medici might have been called, as the Cardinal de Bouillon was in his old age, "the Red Child."—Politiano addressed a letter to the Pope on the occasion, in which he informed him—that he was neither desirous of giving a full scope to his own affections and esteem for Giovanni, nor of flattering him on his choice, and that Florence would attest the truth of his sentiments—that the young man had been so well bred, and his happy dispositions had been so much cultivated, as to render him equal to his instructors in knowledge, and to persons of the maturest understandings in prudence—that he was distinguished by a natural candour without the mixture of any affectation whatever—that, so far from a licentious word having ever escaped him, not even an indecent or frivolous one could ever be laid to his charge—that the greatest malignity found nothing to criticise in his conduct or deportment—that the old saw in him the grandson of the great Cosmo, and the younger the son of Lorenzo—that the French King, from his celebrated character, had conferred on him an Archbishopric—and that for the dignity with which his Holiness had lately honoured him, he had the gratitude and blessings of the Florentines (*a*).——If this

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(*a*) "Non indulgebo amori meo, non judicio tuo blandiar, Pontifex: nota cunctis et testata loquar. Ita natus et factus, ita altus atque educatus, ita denique eruditus atque institutus hic est, ut nemini secundus ingenio, nec æqualibus industriâ, nec præceptoribus litteraturâ, neque gravitate senibus concesserit; nativa in eo pro-

this elogium was what Giovanni really merited, and it is not stretched beyond its due bounds, prosperity, the dangerous poison of the human mind, had undoubtedly corrupted his early and his native goodness.—The young Cardinal was sent to Rome, and in a scarce collection of Letters of the thirteen " Uomini Illustri," there is one from his father Lorenzo to him, which has a demand on us for our warmest admiration, on account of its simplicity and great good sense.—In all probability the Apocryphal Varillas had heard confusedly of it, without having read or seen it. " Lorenzo's book, written on the model of Cicero's " Offices, for the young Cardinal his son," he observes, " had been unfortunately lost, which was to be seriously " lamented, as Lorenzo would have been an author of " high reputation, if his other greater qualities had not " rendered him more celebrated as the first person of the " age."

The lessons of such a father to such a son must be acceptable to every reader.

Lorenzo

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bitas et genuina, diligentiâ quoque parentis ita impensè culta est, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu fœdius, sed ne levius quidem unquam, aut etiam licentius exciderit; non actio, non gestus, non incessus in illo notatus, non aliud postremo quod in deteriorem partem conspiceretur. Sic in viridi ætate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem senes audiunt, proavitam in eo, nos paternam indolem agnoscamus, &c. &c. et quoniam tale de se specimen dabat, compulsos famâ Ludovicus ille Francorum sapientissimus idemque sanctissimus rex, ne summo quidem Archiepiscopatus fastigio indignum hunc ipsum planè adhuc puerum est arbitratus. Illum tu igitur habes regem collatæ istius dignitatis prælusorem. Telam Rex maximus exorsus quam Pontifex maximus pertexeret; audires utinam voces fausta tibi nunc et prospera ominantis Florentini populi!"

Lorenzo de' Medici's Letter to him.

Lorenzo de' Medici,

To Giovanni de' Medici, Cardinal.

"YOU, and all of us who are interested in your welfare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favoured by Providence, not only for the many honours and benefits bestowed on our House, but more particularly for having conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity we have ever enjoyed. This favour, in itself so important, is rendered still more so by the circumstances with which it is accompanied, and especially by the consideration of your youth, and of our situation in the world. The first thing that I would therefore suggest to you is, that you ought to be grateful to God, and continually to recollect that it is not through your merits, your prudence, or your solicitude, that this event has taken place, but through his favour, which you can only repay by a pious, chaste, and exemplary life; and that your obligations to the performance of these duties are so much the greater, as in your early years you have given some reasonable expectation that your riper age may produce such fruits. It would indeed be highly disgraceful, and as contrary to your duty as to my hopes, if at a time when others display a greater share of reason, and adopt a better mode of life, you should forget the precepts of your youth, and forsake the path in which you have hitherto trodden. Endeavour therefore

"fore to alleviate the burthen of your early dignity by "the regularity of your life, and by your perseverance "in those studies which are suitable to your profession. "It gave me great satisfaction to learn, that, in the course "of the past year, you had frequently, of your own accord, gone to communion and confession; nor do I "conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the "favour of Heaven, than by habituating yourself to a "performance of these and similar duties. This appears "to me to be the most suitable and useful advice which, "in the first instance, I can possibly give you.

"I well know, that as you are now to reside at Rome, "that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting "yourself by these admonitions will be increased. The "influence of example is itself prevalent; but you will "probably meet with those who will particularly endeavour to corrupt and incite you to vice; because, as you "may yourself perceive, your early attainment to so great "a dignity is not observed without envy, and those who "could not prevent your receiving that honour will secretly endeavour to diminish it, by inducing you to forfeit the good estimation of the public; thereby precipitating you into that gulf into which they have themselves fallen; in which attempt the consideration of "your youth will give them a confidence of success. "To these difficulties you ought to oppose yourself with "the greater firmness, as there is at present less virtue "amongst your brethren of the college. I acknowledge indeed that several of them are good and learned men, whose lives are exemplary, and whom I would recommend to you as patterns of your conduct. By emulating them you will be so much the more known and esteemed, in proportion as your age, and the peculiarity of your situation, will distinguish you from your colleagues. Avoid, however, as you would Scylla or Charibdis, the imputation of hypocrisy; guard against all ostentation, either in your conduct or your discourse; affect not austerity, nor even appear too serious. This advice you will, I hope, in time understand and practise better than I can express it.

"You are not unacquainted with the great importance of the character which you have to sustain, for you well know that all the Christian world would prosper if the Cardinals were what they ought to be; because in such a case there would always be a good Pope, upon which the tranquillity of Christendom so materially depends. Endeavour then to render yourself such, that if all the rest resembled you, we might expect this universal blessing. To give you particular directions as to your behaviour and conversation, would be a matter of no small difficulty. I shall therefore only recommend, that in your intercourse with the Cardinals, and other men of rank, your language be unassuming and respectful, guiding yourself however by your own reason, and "not submitting to be impelled by the passions of others, "who, actuated by improper motives, may pervert the "use of their reason. Let it satisfy your conscience that "your conversation is without intentional offence; and "if, through impetuosity of temper, any one should be "offended, as his enmity is without just cause, so it will "not be very lasting. On this your first visit to Rome, "it will however be more adviseable for you to listen to "others than to speak much yourself.

"You are now devoted to God and the Church; on "which account you ought to aim at being a good eccle-"siastic, and to shew that you prefer the honour and state "of the Church and of the apostolic see to every other "consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will "it be difficult for you to favour your family, and your "native place. On the contrary, you should be the link "to bind this city closer to the Church, and our family "with the city; and although it be impossible to foresee "what accidents may happen, yet I doubt not but this "may be done with equal advantage to all; observing, "however, that you are always to prefer the interests of "the Church.

"You are not only the youngest Cardinal in the Col-"lege, but the youngest person that ever was raised to "that rank; and you ought therefore to be the most vi-"gilant and unassuming, not giving others occasion to “wait for you either in the chapel, the consistory, or upon deputations. You will soon get a sufficient insight into the manners of your brethren. With those of less respectable character, converse not with too much intimacy; not merely on account of the circumstance in itself, but for the sake of public opinion. Converse on general topics with all. On public occasions let your equipage and dress be rather below than above mediocrity. A handsome house and a well-ordered family will be preferable to a great retinue and a splendid residence. Endeavour to live with regularity, and gradually to bring your expences within those bounds which in a new establishment cannot perhaps be expected. Silk and jewels are not suitable for persons in your station. Your taste will be better shewn in the acquisition of a few elegant remains of antiquity, or in the collecting of handsome books, and by your attendants being learned and well-bred rather than numerous. Invite others to your house oftener than you receive invitations. Practise neither too frequently. Let your own food be plain, and take sufficient exercise, for those who wear your habit are soon liable, without great caution, to contract infirmities. The station of a Cardinal is not less secure than elevated; on which account those who arrive at it too frequently become negligent, conceiving that their object is attained, and that they can preserve it with little trouble. This idea is often injurious to the life and character of those who entertain it.

"Be attentive therefore to your conduct, and confide in "others too little rather than too much. There is one "rule which I would recommend to your attention in "preference to all others: Rise early in the morning. "This will not only contribute to your health, but will "enable you to arrange and expedite the business of the "day; and as there are various duties incident to your "station, such as the performance of divine service, stu"dying, giving audience, &c. you will find the obser"vance of this admonition productive of the greatest uti"lity. Another very necessary precaution, particularly "on your entrance into public life, is to deliberate every "evening on what you have to perform on the following "day, that you may not be unprepared for whatever "may happen. With respect to your speaking in the "consistory, it will be most becoming for you at present "to refer the matters in debate to the judgment of his "Holiness, alleging as a reason your own youth and in"experience. You will probably be desired to intercede "for the favours of the Pope on particular occasions. "Be cautious however that you trouble him not too "often; for his temper leads him to be most liberal to "those who weary him least with their solicitations. This "you must observe, lest you should give him offence, "remembering also at times to converse with him on "more agreeable topics; and if you should be obliged "to request some kindness from him, let it be done "with that modesty and humility which are so pleasing "to his disposition. Farewell (*a*)."

The

(*a*) "*Lorenzo de' Medici Padre.*

A Messer Giovanni de' Medici Card.

Mess. Giovanni: voi sete molto obbligato a Mess. Domenedio, e tutti noi per rispetto vostro, perchè oltra a molto benefici et honori, che ha ricevuti la casa nostra da lui, ha fatto che nella persona vostra veggiamo la maggion dignità, che fosse mai in casa; et ancora che la cosa sia per se grande, le circostantie le fanno assai maggiore, massime per l' età vostra et conditione nostra. Et però il primo mio ricordo è, chi vi sforziate esser grato a M. Domenedio, ricordandovi ad ogn' hora, che non i meriti vostri, prudentia o sollecitudine, ma mirabilmente esso Iddio v' ha fatto Cardinale, et da lui lo riconosciate, comprobando questa conditione con la vita vostra santa, esemplare et honesta, a che siete tanto piu obbligato per havere voi già dato qualche opinione nella adolescentia vostra da poterne sperare tali frutti. Saria cosa molto vituperosa, et fuor del debito vostro et aspettatione mia, quando nel tempo, che gli altri sogliono acquistare più ragione et miglior forma di vita, voi dimenticaste il vostro buono instituto. Bisogna adunque, che vi sforziate alleggerire il peso della dignità, che portate, vivendo costumatamente, et perseverando nelli studi convenienti alla professione vostra. L' anno passato io presi grandissima consolatione, intendendo, che senza che alcuno ve lo ricordasse, da voi medesimo vi confessaste più volte et communicaste; nè credo, che ci sia miglior via a conservarsi nella gratia di Dio, che lo abituarsi in simili modi, et perseverarvi. Questo mi pare il più utile et conveniente ricordo che per lo primo vi posso dare. Conosco che andando voi a Roma, che è sentina di tutti i mali, entrate in maggior difficultà di faro quanto vi dico di sopra, perchè non solamente gli esempi muovono, ma non vi mancheranno particolari incitatori et corruttori, perchè, come voi potete inteudere, la promotione vostra al Cardinalato per l' età vostra, et per le altre conditioni sopradette, arreca seco grande invidia, et quelli, che non hanno potuto impedire la perfetione di questa vostra dignità, s' ingegneranno sottilmente diminuirla, con denigrare l' opinione della vita vostra, et farvi sdrucciolare in quella stessa fossa, dove essi sono caduti, confidandosi molto debba lor riuscire per l' età vostra. Voi dovete tanto più opporvi a queste difficultà quanto nel Collegio hora si vede manco virtù: et io mi ricordo pure avere veduto in quel Collegio buon numero d' huomini dotti et buoni, e di santa vita: però è meglio seguire questi esempi, perchè facendolo, sarete tanto più conosciuto et stimato, quanto l' altrui conditioni vi distingueranno dagli altri. E' necessario che fuggiate, come Scilla et Cariddi, il nome della hipo-

The Cardinal de' Medici was included in his brother's exile, who employed him in some negotiations, where he

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crisia, et come la mala fama, et che usiate mediocrità sforzandovi in fatto fuggire tutte le cose, che offendono in dimostrazione, et in conversatione, non mostrando austerità, o troppa severita ; che sono cose, le quali col tempo intenderete et farete meglio a mia opinione, che non le posso esprimere. Voi intenderete di quanta importanza et esempio sia la persona d' un Cardinale, et che tutto il mondo starebbe bene se i Cardinali fussino come dovrebbono essere ; perciocchè farebbono sembre un buon Papa, onde nasce quasi il riposo di tutti i Christiani. Sforzatevi dunque d' essere tale voi, che quando gli altri fussin così fatti, se ne potesse aspettare questo bene universale. Et perchè non è maggior fatica, che conversar bene con diversi huomini, in questa parte vi posso mal dar ricordo, se non che v' ingegnate, che la conversatione vostra con gli Cardinali et altri huomini di conditione sia caritativa et senza offensione ; dico misurando ragionevolmente, et non secondo l' altrui passione, perchè molti volendo quello che non si dee, fanno della ragione ingiuria. Giustificate adunque la conscientia vostra in questo, che la conversatione vostra con ciascuno sia serza offensione ; questa mi pare la regola generale molto a proposito vostro, perchè quando la passione pur fa qualche inimico, come si partono questi tali senza ragione dall' amicitia, così qualche volta tornano facilmente. Credo per questa prima andata vostra a Roma sia bene adoperare più gli orecchi che la lingua. Hoggimai io vi ho dato del tutto a M. Domenedio, et a S. Chiesa ; onde è necessario, che diventiate un buono Ecclesiastico, et facciate ben capace ciascuno, che amate l' onore et stato di S. Chiesa, et della Sede Apostolica innanzi a tutte le cose del mondo, posponendo a questo ogni altro rispetto ; nè vi mancherà modo con questo riservo d' ajutare la città et la casa ; perchè per questa città fa l' unione della Chiesa, et voi dovete in ciò essere buona catena, et la casa ne va colla città. Et benchè non si possono vedere gli accidenti che verranno, così in general credo, che non ci habbiano a mancare modi di salvare, come si dice, la capra e i cavoli, tenendo fermo il vostro primo presupposto, che anteponiate la Chiesa ad ogni altra cosa. Voi siete il più giovane Cardinale non solo del Collegio, ma che fusse mai fatto infino a qui ; et però è necessario, che dove havete a concorrere con gli altri, siate il più sollecito, il più humile, senza farvi aspettare o in Cappella o in Concistoro o in Deputazione. Voi conoscerete presto gli più e gli meno accostumati. Con gli meno si vuol fuggire la conversatione molto intrinseca, non solamente per lo fatto in se, ma per l' opinione, a largo conversare con ciascheduno. Nelle pompe vostre loderò più presto stare di quà dal moderato che di là ; et più presto vorrei bella stalla et famiglia ordinata et polita, che ricca et pomposa. Ingegnatevi di vivere accostumatamente, riducendo a poco a poco le cose al termine, che per essere hora la fa-

he discovered great abilities, though without much success.—Having the honour to be disgraced by Alexander the VIth, he travelled into Germany, France, and the Low Countries, and returning into Italy by the way of Savoy, he was received and treated, with his cousin Giulio, by the Cardinal Giuliano de' Rovera, and these three illustrious exiles, which was very singular, all afterwards sat in the Papal Chair.—The Cardinal Giovanni, on the death of Piero de' Medici, became the head of the family, and

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miglia et il padron nuovo non si può. Gioje e seta in poche cose stanno bene a pari vostri. Più presto qualche gentilezza di cose antiche et belli libri, et più presto famiglia accostumata et dotta che grande. Convitar più spesso che andare a conviti, nè però superfluamente. Usate per la persona vostra cibi grossi, et fate assai esercitio; perchè in cotesti panni si viene presto in qualche infermità, chi non ci ha cura. Lo stato del Cardinale è non manco sicuro che grande; onde nasce che gli huomini si fanno negligenti, parendo loro haver conseguito assai, et poterlo mantenere con poca fatica, et questo nuoce spesso et alla conditione et alla vita, alla quale è necessario che abbiate grande avvertenza; et più presto pendiate nel fidarvi poco, che troppo. Una regola sopra l' altre vi conforto ad usare con tutta la sollecitudine vostra; et questa è di levarvi ogni mattina di buona hora, perchè oltra al conferir molto alla sanità, si pensa et espedisce tutte le faccende del giorno, et al grado che havete, havendo a dir l' ufficio, studiare, dare audientia ec. ve 'l trovarete molto utile. Un' altra cosa ancora è sommamente necessaria a un pari vostro, cioè pensare sempre, et massime in questi principii, la sera dinanzi, tutta quello che havete da fare il giorno seguente, acciocchè non vi venga cosa alcuna immeditata. Quanto al parlar vostro in Concistorio, credo sarà più costumatezza, et più laudabil modo in tutte le occorrenze, che vi si proporranno, riferirsi alla Santità di N. S. causando, che per essere voi giovane, et di poca esperientia, sia più ufficio vostro rimettervi alla S. S. et al sapientissimo giuditio di quella. Ragionevolmente voi sarete richiesto di parlare et intercedere appresso a N. S. per molte specialità. Ingegnatevi in questi principi di richiederlo manco potete, et dargliene poca molestia, che di sua natura il Papa è più grato a chi manco gli spezza gli orecchi. Questa parte mi pare da osservare per non lo infastidire; et così l' andargli innanzi con cose piacevoli, o pur quando accadesse, richiederlo con humiltà et modestia doverà sodisfargli più, et esser più secondo la natura sua. State sano: di Firenze."

and he immediately adopted very different measures from those which his brother had obstinately pursued, and which had occasioned his ruin.—All his wishes centered in a recovery of the family influence at Florence, but he concealed them under the veil of the profoundest dissimulation, and put in motion all the prudence and all the art requisite, or likely to lead him with certainty, though imperceptibly, to the attainment of his object.—Appearing to be perfectly satisfied with his spiritual function, he received with the greatest affability and courtesy all the Florentines whose business or inclinations brought them to Rome, and even the most declared enemies of the Medici family met with the same flattering attention. It was his invariable rule to shew a general civility to every individual, whatever might be his rank, and he even condescended to court his inferiors, a sure method of rising afterwards to the level of his superiors. In a word, he made use of the ancient artifices of the Medici for the subjection of his fellow-citizens, and acquired both respect and authority by kindness and benevolence. Such a system of conduct naturally tended to destroy prejudices, and disarm resentment; but to arrive at the summit of his wishes favourable circumstances were to be waited for, and were still wanting.

Julius the IId.

Giuliano de' Rovera or Julius the IId, the old and haughty Pontiff so much decried on this side the Alpes, though the Italians have some reasons for respecting his memory, was inattentive to the sublimity of his station, and saw only in his spiritual power the means of increasing his temporal interests and dominions.—Originally he was a party to the league of Cambray, he then changed his political code, and conceived the vast project of forcing the Ultramontanes out of Italy.—Old age, which usually debilitates the corporeal vigour and cools the courage of impetuous youth, rendered him more enterprising, and he hastened the execution of his intended project in proportion as he approached his end.—An open rupture ensued with Louis the XIIth, and the most scandalous disputes.—The Father of the French paid no sort of respect whatever to a Pontiff who attempted to do him every injury.—Many of the Cardinals had been seduced to concur in the views of the French Monarch, who called a council by his own authority with the consent of the Florentines in the city of Pisa, which after fifteen years of hostility, had again returned under the Florentine government. The Cardinal of Volterra, brother of their Gonfalonier Soderini, flattered himself with the hopes of supplanting by these means Julius the IId, and from this moment Julius determined on the restoration of the Medici. He encouraged and bestowed his apostolical benediction on the noble citizen Prinzivalle della Stuffa in his conspiracy against the life of the Gonfalonier, and the attempt miscarrying, he proposed the Cardinal de' Medici as his legate, wherever he could give the most umbrage and uneasiness to the Florentines.

His

Battle of Ravenna.

His allies at that period were his Catholic Majesty and the Venetians.—At this critical conjuncture the battle of Ravenna was fought.—Gaston de Foix beat the combined army, but the pursuit was fatal to him, and the French dated even from this victory the loss of the Milanese. The Cardinal Legate de' Medici was in the engagement and remained for some time a prisoner, though he had the good fortune or address to escape afterwards out of the hands of the enemy.—Florence, which favoured at heart the French interests, had observed a very strict neutrality, of which it had reason to repent (*a*), for the Pope conceiving the moment to be favourable for the restoration of the Medici, the French King made no scruple of abandoning friends from whom he had not received the least assistance.—The combined Powers held a diet at Mantua, where the brothers Giovanni and Giuliano pleaded so efficaciously their cause and stated their restoration in such a light, as to convince the members of the assembly that the latter was very practicable (*b*).—Raymond de Cardonna the Viceroy of Naples marched with

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(*a*) "Cominciavano a sentire i frutti della neutralità, usata improvidamente, et a conoscere non essere sufficiente presidio l'abbracciare la GIUSTITIA della causa, dove era mancata la prudentia" is the profound reflection of Guicciardini. *La Hist. d'Italia, lib.* 11. 312.

(*b*) "Trattossi nella medesima dieta d'assaltare i Fiorentini, facendone instanza in nome suo, et del Cardinale, Giuliano de' Medici, et propenendo facile la mutatione di quello stato per le divisioni de' Cittadini: perche molti desideravano il ritorno loro, et per occulto intendimento, che (secondo affermana) vi havevano con

with an army into Tuscany, and insisted on the deposition of the Gonfalonier and the restoration of the Medici, at least in their private characters, as citizens (*c*).—Taken by surprise the Florentines agreed without hesitation to the second article, however dangerous it might be to their liberty, and refused the first. Cardonna then advanced, took the town of Prato by assault, and pillaged it. He continued, however, to negotiate, because he was in want both of money and provisions, and his master was less anxious than the Pope respecting the restoration of the Medici.—It has been believed, that if the Florentines had offered him a reasonable sum, he would have given up the enterprise, but the Gonfalonier indiscreetly spun out the correspondence.—His usual and boasted prudence here failed him when he had most occasion for them.—Whilst every thing floated in uncertainty, three young men devoted to the Medici resolutely went to the palace, and with their daggers at the Gonfalonier's throat forced him to an immediate resignation of his office (*d*).—His political reputation suffered by this unfortunate

Soderini, the Gonfalonier of Florence, obliged to resign his office.

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alcune persone nobili, et potenti, et perche i Fiorentini dissipata una parte de' loro huomini d'arme in Lombardia, un'altra parte rinchiusa in Brescia; non havevano forze sufficieti a difendersi contra uno assalto tanto repentino." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 313, 314.

(*c*) "Desiderare che i Medici potessero godere la Patria, non come capi del governo, ma come privati, et per vivere sotto le Leggi, et sotto i Magistrati, simili in tutte le cose a gli altri Cittadini." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 315.

(*d*) "Pagol Vettori, et Anton Francesco de gli Albizi giovanni nobili, seditiosi, tunate event, but his greatness of soul was still invulnerable.—He retired at first to Ragusa, and in the succeeding Pontificate his generous rival received him most graciously at Rome, where he died some years afterwards.—His integrity was universally esteemed, and yet a caustic epitaph (*e*) was written on his death.

When the Gonfalonier was deposed, the agreement was soon signed.—The convention, however, which restored

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et cupidi di cose nuove, i qualli già molti mesi si erano occultamente congiurati con alcuni altri in favor de' Medici, ——— sì risolverono di fare esperientia di cavar per forza il Gonfaloniere del palazzo pubblico: et comunicato il consiglio loro con Bartolomeo Valori giovane di simili conditioni, et implicato per lo troppo spendere, come era anco Pagolo in molti debiti, la mattina del secondo dì dalla perdita di Prato, che fù l'ulrimo giorno d'Agosto, entrati con pochi compagni in palazzo, dove per lo Gonfaloniere, che s'era rimesso ad arbitrio del caso, e della Fortuna non era provisione, ne resistenza alcuna, et andati alla camera sua lo minacciarono di torgli la vita, se non si partiva del palazzo, dandogli in tal caso la fede de di salvarlo." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 117.

(*e*) "La notte che morì Pier Soderini,
L'alma n'andò dell' inferno alla bocca,
Ma Pluto gli gridò; anima sciocca!
Che? inferno? va nel limbo frà bambini.

Yet Machiavel has done justice to his good qualities. "Piero Soderini, procedeva in tutte le cose sue con umanità e pazienza. Prosperò egli e la sua patria mentre che i tempi furono conformi al modo del procedere suo; ma come vennero dipoi tempi, dove bisognava rompere la pazienza e l'umiltà, non lo seppe fare; talchè insieme con la sua patria rovinò." (*Machiavelli, tom.* 3. 297, 298.) As Cornelius Nepos has observed of Alcibiades he was the "affabilis, blandus," but the "temporibus calidissime inserviens" was wanting. In a calm and unruffled sea he was perfectly master of the political bark and qualified to be the pilot—in an outrageous ocean utterly unfit to steer it.

restored the Medici did not stipulate any thing in their favour, and Florence flattering itself with the hopes of retaining its liberty, proceeded to the election of another Gonfalonier. The Medici appeared before the magistracy in deep mourning, and with ostensible humility requested an indemnity and oblivion for what was past. —It is thus that ambition sometimes stoops.—She condescends to taste of the cup of humiliation, in order to fill up that of servitude, and like the serpent presses the dust most forcibly, when springing from it with the greatest elasticity.—

"—— Omnia serviliter pro dominatione (*f*)."

The Medici restored—recover their authority.

Things were too far advanced to remain in such a situation.—If the Cardinal de' Medici had been one of the most moderate persons in the world, the restoration of the family must have appeared precarious to him without being rendered more complete.—The Viceroy paid little attention to the Republican form of government, and entered into the Cardinal's further views. At the head of a powerful detachment of the combined army, the two brothers entered a second time into Florence, and recovering the authority which the House of Medici had possessed before 1494, they exercised it in a more open and absolute manner (*g*). Julius

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(*f*) *Tacit. His t. lib.* 1. *tom.* 3. 33.

(*g*) "Convocò subito, cosi proponendo Giuliano de' Medici, su la piazza del pa-

Giovanni de' Medici elected Pope, and takes the name of Leo the Xth.

Julius the IId did not survive (*h*) this fresh revolution in the government of Florence, and the Conclave which followed was of short duration, for the young Cardinals had determined to elect a Pope out of their number, and they fixed unanimously on the Cardinal de' Medici. The member of the sacred college whose office it was to announce their choice made the following curious proclamation. "I have joyful news for you. We "have for Pope, Giovanni Cardinal de' Medici, who "has taken the name of Leo the Xth, and long live the "young! Vivano i Giovani!"

The new Pontiff was only thirty-seven years of age, but the intelligence of his exaltation was received with universal

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lagio, col suono della campana grossa il popolo al parlamento, dove quelli che vi andarono, essendo circondati dall'arme de' soldati, et de' giovani della Città, che havevano prese l'armi per li Medici, consentirono che a circa cinquanta Cittadini, nominati secondo la volontà del Cardinale, fosse data sopra le cose pubbliche la medesima autorità che haveva tutto il popolo (chiamano i Fiorentini questa potestà cosi ampla Balia) per decreto de' quali ridotto il governo a quella forma, che so leva essere innanzi all'Anno 1494. et messa una guardia di soldati ferma al palagio ripigliarono i Medici quella medesima grandezza, ma governandola più imperiosamente, et con arbitrio più assoluto di quello, che soleva havere il padre loro." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 318.

(*h*) "Principe d'animo, et di costanza inestimabile, ma impetuoso, et di concetti smisurati, per li quali che non precipitasse, lo sostonne più la riverenza della Chiesa, la discordia de' Prencipi, et la conditione de' tempi, che la moderatione, et la prudenza, degno certamente di somma gloria, se fosse stato Principe secolare, ò se quella cura, et intentione, che hebbe ad esaltare con l'arti della guerra, la Chiesa nella grandezza temporale, havesse havuta ad esaltarla con l'arti della pace nelle cose spirituali." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 325.

universal applause, and under the reign of the son of Lorenzo de' Medici the Golden age was fondly expected to be revived. His coronation was attended with a pomp that Rome had not witnessed for many centuries, and instead of a litter covered with velvet and gold, supported by two mules, on which the preceding Popes had been usually carried, the young Pontiff mounted a beautiful barb richly caparisoned, which he had made use of at the battle of Ravenna.

Yet the flattering expectations of universal peace, which the election of the Cardinal de' Medici promised to produce, unfortunately were not realized. The Milanese subjects of Massimiliano Sforza wished for the return of the French their ancient masters, and Louis the XIIth took advantage of the conjuncture to form a league with Venice. He was more particularly desirous of securing the Pope and rendering him favourable to his views, as he had several motives to suspect his inclinations. Leo the Xth in fact dissembled, but he had not forgotten or forgiven the conduct of the French under Charles the VIIIth, and the personal neglect with which Louis himself had treated him in his exile.

Battle of Novarra.

The French King having sent an army into Italy, and re-conquered the Milanese, the Swiss, who were secretly incited by Leo, marched to the support of Massimiliano Sforza. The battle of Novarra changed the whole face of affairs, and the French were obliged to retreat and repass the mountains.—The Holy Father, however, cautiously concealed the part he had acted, as he had occasion for the French monarch's assistance in extinguishing the schism, to which the church had been exposed by the pride and obstinacy of his predecessor. To influence him more effectually, he assured him, as soon as the spiritual obstacle was removed, he would openly espouse the French cause and its temporal interests.—Louis was duped by this artifice, and worked upon by the importunate assiduities of his Consort, who became more bigotted as she perceived her life drawing near its close, he renounced the council of Pisa, and prevailed on the refractory Cardinals to submit to their spiritual sovereign and receive his absolution.

The Pope, as soon as he had gained his Ecclesiastical object, returned with fresh vigilance to his temporal concerns and his former dissimulation.—All his address and art were indeed necessary in the conduct he had proposed to himself.—At the very instant when he wished to induce the French King to believe he was desirous of his success in the Milanese, he left nothing undone, and neglected no opportunity of throwing every obstacle that he could devise, in his way. When the French were not ready for the expedition he pressed it with all the eloquence and in the strongest language he was able;

as they prepared for their march, he endeavoured to convince them that the aspect of things was changed—that they had let slip the favourable crisis—and that the attempt would be no longer practicable with any hopes of success.

Amidst these crooked manœuvres, the good old King died, and Francis the Ist succeeded to the crown. In all the warmth of youth, and full of ambition, he was not in the least disposed to wave his pretensions to the Milanese, and he re-doubled the necessary preparations for supporting his rights with vigour. Like his predecessor he knew how to estimate the value of an alliance with the Papal see, but Leo had hastily entered into a league with the Italian powers, for the defence of the Milanese, though he took care to insinuate to Francis the Ist, that it had not been a matter of choice but of necessity. Francis, even when he was on the point of entering Italy, was still in suspense respecting the Pope's intentions, who, sometimes lifting up a little of his mask, and sometimes wholly concealing himself under it, prevented as much as possible his real features from being seen.

The combined Powers had weakly flattered themselves they should have been able to defend the passages of the Alpes.—French impetuosity forced them, and the defeat of Prospero Colonna, a famous general of the Italian fashion (*a*), spread dismay and consternation through the whole country.—Soon afterwards an account of the battle of Marignan reached the Pope, which ensured the conquest of the Milanese, and he then thought in earnest it was high time to take care of himself.—He was less alarmed at the irruption that might be made into the Ecclesiastical states, than for some of the appendages of the Milanese, which were then in his possession, and the attempt the French might make to disturb the Medici at Florence.—Under these circumstances the crafty Pontiff offered every excuse to Francis that his fertile imagination suggested to him, and an agreement was immediately entered into. Its conditions might naturally be expected to be oppressive and severe, and he saw both Parma and Placentia extorted from him, though by a refinement in the science of political negotiation, he refused to cede either the one or the other, and simply agreed to evacuate them.

Interview between Leo the Xth, and Francis the Ist

An interview was proposed between the French Monarch and the Pope, and they met at Bologna with mutual protestations of sincerity and friendship. The two sovereigns

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(*a*) Guicciardini has described the Italian mode of making war as an innocent and gaudy spectacle. "Già lungo tempo assuefatta a vedere guerre più presto belle di pompa, et di apparati, et quasi simili a spettacoli, che pericolose et sanguinose." *Guicciardini*, *lib.* 1. 28.

sovereigns privately concerted an expedition against the Kingdom of Naples, and Leo promised as soon as he could exonerate himself from his engagements with Ferdinand to join his forces with the French troops, that were to be employed in the expedition. To this promise he added a favour, which was considered as the seal of this new alliance, the abolition of the ancient usage on the election to Ecclesiastical benefices and a grant to the French King of the right of proposing whoever he chose to fill the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, the Pope engaging to confirm his nomination by a Bull or Concordat. In return he had the satisfaction to receive a surrender of the Pragmatic sanction, which has been always a stumbling block for the See of Rome, as it established the authority of a council over the Pope, and abolished his title to the first-fruits, reversions, and expectancies of Ecclesiastical benefices.—The spiritual and temporal soveveigns were equally satisfied, and as the President de Thou has justly observed, the interests of the Church and France were only sacrificed.

We are assured the young Monarch and his Court were highly charmed by the Holy Father's grace and dignity at the altar, and Louisa of Savoy the mother of Francis, speaking of this interview in her journal, calls him "the Polite Apostle and Lieutenant of Jesus Christ," "Gentil Apôtre et Lieutenant de Jesus Christ."

Francis left him with a perfect conviction of his sincerity, and was fully persuaded the Papal see would support his interests, but the artful Florentine had not been seduced, and he persisted in his wishes of recovering the Milanese and forcing the French again beyond the mountains. The French monarch's delusion was not indeed of long continuance, and several steps taken by the Pope rendered him again suspected.

Louis had taken under his protection Francesco Maria de la Rovera Duke of Urbino, and his intercessions in his favour to Leo had been fruitless, who had determined to strip the nephew of his ancient friend and benefactor, for as the Casuist Bellarmin has very properly remarked, "Papa est supra jus, contra jus, et extra jus."

The State of Urbino was in fact a very desirable acquisition to the House of Medici, as by its addition to the Florentine territories, they formed a little sovereignty which stretched from one sea to the other.—Leo having driven the Duke out of his dominions invested his own nephew Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici with them, but Rovera returning in force and seconded by his subjects again took possession of them.—The Pope vented his rage in threats and clamours, and applied to every court with as much eagerness and importunity, as if the infidels had invaded the Ecclesiastical states.—The Emperor Maximilian and Charles his grandson, the latter of whom then held Burgundy, Castile, and Arragon, made a merit of assisting him, and Francis, reflecting on the danger of completely alienating his affections, sent him a reinforcement against his ancient ally. A closer and more intimate alliance then followed between the French Monarch and the Roman Pontiff, and the Duke of Urbino abandoned by all the Powers by whom he expected to have been supported, was under the necessity of giving up the unequal contest and submitting to his fate.

Conspiracy of the Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci.

Whilst the Holy Father was congratulating himself on the happy termination of these difficulties, a domestic conspiracy had nearly ruined him.—Alfonso Petrucci a son of the cunning tyrant of Sienna, and one of the young Cardinals who had joined in raising Leo to the pontifical throne, thinking he had been treated with ingratitude, by the Pope's concurrence in the expulsion of his family from Sienna, conceived the project of revenge. —He determined to give Christendom the first example of a Pope's assassination by a Cardinal, but finding the scheme too hazardous, he turned his thoughts towards the slower mode of poison.—The Pope's surgeon, who then attended him for a fistulous complaint was bribed, and many members of the sacred College had entered into the association. A letter was intercepted, which revealed the conspiracy, and Petrucci was arrested in the presence-chamber, conducted to the castle of St. Angelo, and there strangled with some of his colleagues. Others were degraded, stripped of their Ecclesiastical dignities and their hats (*b*).

The number of Cardinals was not formerly determinate or fixed, and during the time of Nicholas the IIIrd, in 1277, they were only seven.—Under John the XXIId there were twenty.—The councils of Constance and Basle directed the number to be increased to thirty-four, but Leo by a stretch of the authority (*c*), which at Rome was never disputed in opposition to all the councils upon earth, added thirty-one, and according to Onufrio Panvini they were then about sixty-five.—Paul the IVth again added five, and Sixtus the Vth, considering the number of the elders of Israel, and of our Saviour's disciples to have been seventy, directed by an ordinance the number should be enlarged to seventy, at which it has remained.

Since the capture of Constantinople the Turks had always kept the Christians in a state of alarm, and their appre-

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(*b*) The whole of the conspiracy traced through all its ramifications may be seen in Guicciardini, *Lib.* 13. 383, 384.

(*c*) This extraordinary promotion arose from the punishment and disgrace of many members of the sacred college on the late conspiracy. "Costrinse l'acerbità di questo caso il Pontefice a pensare alla creatione di nuovi Cardinali, conoscendo quasi tutto il Collegio per lo supplicio di questi, et per altre cagioni, havere l'animo alienissimo da lui, alla quale procedè tanto immoderatamente, che pronunciò in una mattina medesima in Concistoro, consentendo il Collegio per timore, et non per volontà, trent'uno Cardinali." *Guicciardini. lib.* 13. 384.

apprehensions or their fears rose and fell with the abilities of the reigning Sultan. The ambitious and fortunate Selim, flushed with the rage of conquest, had reduced under his subjection Persia, Syria, and the Mamalukes, attracted the eyes of the Christian Powers, and threatened their bulwarks of Rhodes and Hungary. Even Italy itself was not supposed to be entirely out of danger. Though there might have been some just reason for alarm, Leo undoubtedly magnified it, and there was a considerable share of ostentation in his subsequent measures. Circular briefs were addressed to all his Spiritual children, he pressed with a holy unction on them reasons which seemed to come from the very bowels of their common father, and he sent special legates to the Christian Princes, exhorting them to put an end to their private quarrels, and to rally and unite for the defence of their Faith, and the Cross of Christ.—The different Princes appeared to listen to his admonitions, and on every side real or pretended preparations were to be seen.—Leo was to have embarked at Ancona, and to have put himself at the head of the crusade, which, considered as a defensive one, would have been more rational than those pious enterprises which had been dictated by the mistaken zeal of the last centuries. Whether these preparations had been serious, or the different Sovereigns did not persist in their resolutions, or Selim's death threw a chill over the whole plan of operations, all these grand projects vanished in smoke.—Solyman, the son of Selim, became more formidable,

Leo the Xth projects a crusade.

midable, and if it had been necessary for the safety of Europe to have curbed the Ottoman Power, it had lost a favourable opportunity of trying the experiment.

It was on the occasion of this intended Crusade that Vida's Muse sketched out such a beautiful and romantic scene of imaginary triumphs.

> " Jamque (*d*) illum Europæ reges, gensque omnis in unum,
> Conversique oculos, conversique ora tenebant:
> Jamque duces animis illum concordibus omnes
> Velle sequi trepidos in Turcas arma parantem.
> Illum quadrijugo invectum per mœnia curru,
> Roma, triumphato vidisses protinus orbe:
> Illum, Tybri pater, lætanti spumeus alveo
> Exciperes, Tuscus Tuscum, veheresque per undas
> Miratas habitusque novos, hominumque figuras.
> Issent post currus capti longo ordine reges:
> Oblitusque minas minor iret barbarus hostis,
> Qui victis Solymis nunc, atque oriente subacto
> Exultat fidens, orbisque affectat habenas
> Efferus, atque Italæ jam jam, scelus! imminet oræ.
> Visendi studio passim Romana juventus
> Per fora, perque vias, festa discurreret urbe.
> Ipse suos solio fulgens pater aureus alto
> Aspiceret cives longo post tempore visos;
> Barbaricumque

(*d*) *Vida Poet. lib.* 2, 581—600.

Barbaricumque aurum, prædæque juberet acervos
Sacratis adytis, penitusque alta arce reponi (e)."

This brilliant illusion was but the Poet's dream.—Heaven, which decides the fate of Kingdoms, had determined otherwise, and instead of the Tiber receiving on his bosom in all the pomp and pride of victory twenty tributary Monarchs in chains, the water of "the King of "Streams" serves only to wash the band and the surplice!

(e) "And, but malicious fortune stood between,
What golden days had rising Latium seen?
On him admiring Europe turns her eyes,
Sees where aloft the sacred banner flies;
Each chief prepar'd to summon from afar,
And lead th' impatient legions to the war.
Oh! had'st thou but beheld, imperial Rome,
Along thy streets the Reverend Hero come!
How had old Tyber borne with fond delight,
Adown his classic stream the hallow'd freight!
How had he smil'd of captive realms to see
The foreign garb, and awkward progeny!
How had the papal chariot dragg'd along,
Bound to its gorgeous wheels the scepter'd throng!
The haughty Sultan, and his impious host,
Should rule no more the Solymæan coast;
No more, in fond imagination see
The prostrate globe submissive bend the knee,
Move at his nod, and bow to his decree;
No more his troops, like locusts wafted o'er,
From their parch'd plains infest the Western shore.
To see the train the frequent youth shall join,
And pour through ev'ry street th' extended line.
High on his throne the sire, array'd in gold,
Once more th' adoring people should behold;
His treasures heap with rich Barbaric spoils,
Resplendent trophies of his glorious toils;
And thro' the solemn fanes religious pour,
With pious hand the consecrated store."

Hampson's Vida's Poetics, book 2, 823.

By the death of Maximilian of Austria the Empire became vacant, and the two celebrated rivals Francis the Ist, and Charles the Vth, took every method to secure the Papal interest, which, though not decisive, was not to be slighted.—Leo's artful conduct did not contribute to serve either of them.—He flattered, but his whole finesse was exerted to exclude them both, and to turn the scale in favour of one of the electors. Yet he apparently gave Francis some external assistance, either because he saw less danger from an increase of his power, or because he knew his hopes were delusive, and not likely to be gratified. Maximilian's grandson succeeded. Leo, however, giving way where it was impossible to resist, approved of the coronation of Charles as King of the Romans, without stopping at the clause providing for the homage of the King of Naples to the See of Rome, and the express declaration that the Roman Crown and that of the Empire were incompatible.

Origin of the Reformation.

The origin of the Reformation may be deduced from Leo's Pontificate.—A little fermented leaven had been indeed a long time discernible.—Christianity had been both heated and soured, and the flagrant enormities of the Church of Rome had already made an impression on every good heart and rational understanding.—It is not necessary to recur to the Histories of the Albigenses, J. Wickliff, Huss, or Jerome of Prague; their opinions, their actions, and their melancholy fates, have been recorded by almost all the authors of the age in which they lived. The vehemence also cannot be forgotten, with which many writers, who had no intentions of separating themselves from the Roman Communion, inveighed long before Leo's Pontificate against the vices of his predecessors.—A thousand instances might be produced, but it will be sufficient to appeal to the evidence of the two great Tuscan Poets, who wrote two centuries before Luther.

Dante, discovering Nicholas the IIId in his Inferno, takes the liberty of apostrophizing him in the following manner:

"Io (*a*) non so, s' i' mi fui quì troppo folle:
Ch' i' pur risposi lui, a questo metro,
Deh or mi dì quanto tesoro volle
Nostro Signore in prima da San Pietro,
Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balia?
Certo non chiese, se non, Viemmi dietro.
Nè Pier, nè gli altri chiesero a Mattia
Oro, o argento, quando fu sortito
Nel luogo, che perdè l' anima ria.

Però

(*a*) *Dante dell' Inferno, Cant.* 19. 88—123.

Però ti sta, che tu se' ben punito,
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
. . . .
E se non fosse, ch' ancor lo mi vieta
La reverenzia delle somme chiavi,
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
I' userei parole ancor più gravi;
Che la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni, e sollevando i pravi.
Di voi pastor s' accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sovra l' acque,
Puttanneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella, che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento,
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento:
E che non altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n' orate cento?
Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre.
E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira, o coscienzia, che 'l mordesse,
Forte spingava, con ambo le piote.
I' credo ben, ch' al mio duca piacesse,
Con sì contenta labbia sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse (*b*)."

Petrarch's

(*b*) "'Say thou,' I cry'd, 'whose limbs suspended high,
Like flaming meteors mark the nether sky;
What horrid cause thy burning bust conceals?'

Petrarch's invectives are still more violent, and in some scattered passages he compares the seat of the Holy Catholic Religion to a School of Error—a Temple of Heresy,

As a Confessor list'ning long I stood,
While the pale wretch protracts the tale of blood,
And from the falling axe a moment steals.
'Shame of the Papal Chair! and art thou come,
Hollow and dismal from the fiery tomb,
He cried—a later doom the Prophet told—
But, come, Seducer of the spouse of God,
Who rul'd the Christian world with iron rod,
Come! thine eternal revenues behold!'
As one, that hears the undistinguished sound
Of foul reproach his quick sensations wound,
Struck with the sad salute, amaz'd I stood!
'Explain, the Mantuan cry'd, his fond mistake,
No dire successor seeks the burning lake,
With other views you pass'd the penal flood.'
Prompt I obey'd, the troubled spirit heard,
And fiercer signs of doubled pain appear'd.
'Ah! why delude a tortur'd soul! he cry'd,
But if a strong desire my doom to know,
Led your advent'rous feet so far below,
Know, late I reign'd o'er Rome in mitred pride;'
'Orsini claims my blood—illustrious name!
To raise her honours thus I sunk to shame;
Unfriended, and unwept, but not alone:
Many a proud Prelate learns below to weep,
Above the fatal pass I'm doom'd to keep,
'Till Boniface forsakes the hallow'd throne.
I fondly thought my proud successor come,
Sent to supplant me in the fiery tomb;
Your salutation caus'd the sad mistake.
Fated alas! a longer time to weep,
And view with straining eye the nether deep,
Than He for whom he seeks the Stygian lake.

sy—a Sink of Corruption—another Babylon—a Hell upon Earth—where adultery is openly encouraged—where the young and the old, with Beelzebub in the midst of

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Soon haughty Boniface his vigil ends,
And Clement here with flaming feet descends
  A darker soul! the painful seat to claim,
As Jason gain'd of old the Syrian Lord,
The Gallic Chief he plies with arts abhorr'd,
  And soon the holy mantle hides his shame.'

He ceas'd, my fervent zeal o'ercame my fear,
And thus th' usurper of the hallow'd chair
  In scorn I question'd, 'Say, when Jesus grac'd
The humble Fisher with the high command,
Did shining gold pollute his holy hand?
  'Follow my footsteps,' was his sole request.

Or from his station when Iscariot fell,
Did Peter's voice the chosen Saint compel
  To buy the empty seat for sums of gold?—
Now bid the Monarch dread his mitred foe;
Go, boast thy treasures to the Fiends below,
  And how thy wolves destroy'd th' hallow'd fold.

And tho' the sanction of Orsino's name
Thy sacred office, and thy lineal fame
  Forbids my tongue to use an harsher strain,
Yet ever be thy caitiff-soul pursu'd,
With the strong satire of the just and good,
  Long, long oppress'd beneath thy hated reign.

Those sordid scenes the man of Patmos saw,
When he beheld the foul enchantress draw
  The royal train to wear her bands abhorr'd,
With rapture on her lying charms to dwell,
And on her brow adore the stamp of Hell,
  That brow, rebellious to her lawful Lord.

Go, seek your Saviour in the delved mine,
And bid th' idolater the palm resign;
  Thine is a Legion, his a single God!—

of them, are equally immersed in the most infamous crimes; and he wishes Heaven, in its just vengeance, to blast it with its lightning (*c*).

Luther

Lamented ever be that lib'ral hand,
Whose gifts allur'd the Apostolic band
To leave that humble path where long they trod.'
I spoke—and whether grief sublim'd his pain,
Or conscience stung his soul, or high disdain;
His feet with tenfold haste the dance renew'd,
List'ning with fix'd delight, the Mantuan bard,
Silent awhile my strong invective heard,
And fondly came, and seiz'd me where I stood.
Pleas'd with my zeal, the friendly Bard embrac'd,
And to his heart with warmer rapture press'd
His filial charge, than e'er I felt before.
Then to another bridge that o'er the deep
Led us still onward, to the central steep;
My weight with Angel-arm the Poet bore."

Boyd's Dante, vol. 2. 105—113.

(*c*) "Fiamma del ciel sù le tue treccie piova,
Malvagia; che dal fiume e da le ghiande,
Per l'altrui impoverir se'ricca e grande,
Poi che di mal oprar tanto ti giova:
Nido ti tradimenti, in cui si cova,
Quanto mal per lo mondo hoggi si spande:
Di vin serva, di letti e di vivande,
In cui lussuria fà l'ultima prova.
Per le camere tue fanciulle e vecchi,
Vanno trescando, e Belzebub in mezzo,
Co mantici, col fuoco, e con gli specchi.
Già non fostù nudrita in piume al rezzo,
Ma nuda al vento, e scalza fra gli stecchi.
Hor vivi si, ch'a Dio ne venga il rezzo."

Luther was not therefore by any means the first champion who drew his sword against the Roman Pontiff, but

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"Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,
Schola d'errori e tempio d'heresia,
Già Roma, hor Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira.

O fucina d'inganni, o prigion dira,
Ove'l ben muore, e'l mal si nutre e cria,
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia,
Se Christo teco alfine non s'adira.

Fondata in casta e humil povertate,
Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
Putta sfacciata; e dov' hai posto spene?

Ne gli adulteri tuoi? ne le mal nate,
Richezze tante."

"—— l'empia Babilonia, ond'è fuggita,
Ogni vergogna, ond'ogni bene è fori;
Albergo di dolor, madre d'errori."

"L'avara Babilonia ha colmo'l sacco,
D'ira di Dio, e di vitii empi e rei
Tanto, che scoppia."
Opere di Petrar.

"Facta est hæc abusio, ut fieret quasi portentum multarum abusionum, quæ subsecutæ sunt in terris. Vix enim remansit aliquis episcopatus, sive dignitas ecclesiastica, vel etiam parochialis ecclesia, quæ non fieret litigiosa, et Romam deduceretur ipsa causa, sed non manu vacuâ. Gaude mater nostra Roma, quoniam aperiuntur cataractæ thesaurorum in terrâ, ut ad te confluant rivi, et aggeres nummorum in magnâ copiâ. Lætare super iniquitate siliorum hominum, quoniam in recompensationem tantorum malorum datur tibi pretium. Jocundare super adjutrice tuâ, discordiâ, quia erupit de puteo infernalis abyssi, ut accumulentur tibi multa pecuniarum præmia. Habes quod semper sitisti, decanta canticum, quia per malitiam hominum, non per tuam religionem orbem vicisti. Ad te trahit homines, non ipsorum devotio, aut pura conscientia, sed scelerum multiplicium perpetratio, et litium decisio, pretio comparata." *Querela Abbatis Urspergensis de Curiâ Rom. in vita Frederici Barbarossæ Imperat. ad annum* 1198. *in Hist. fol.* 321.

but the intrepid courage and virtuous ferocity of this celebrated Augustine Monk had been wanting to execute what he brought about.

Sale of indulgencies.

The crying abuses of indulgencies, reduced under the Pontificate of Leo the Xth to the most sordid traffic, opened Luther's eyes, and as he grew enlightened himself he endeavoured to enlighten others.—An innumerable crowd of Roman Catholics rather feared a Deity than believed in one, and they were desirous of purchasing, at any price, the remission of their past sins, and an indulgence for their future ones. In the Tax, or Tariffe of Sins, the fixed price of each offence was duly stated, and the sinner might calculate to a farthing his expences, and balance the account between his confessor and himself, or his vices and his purse.—The body of an usurer might rest in Holy ground for EIGHT GROS—the seduction of a virgin stood at SIX GROS.—A modern Atys, Abelard, Origen, or Farinelli, had to pay SIXTEEN GROS for his own personal violation.—The altar might be made the scene of libidinous profanation for SIX GROS—and the gratification of a criminal connection with a sister, a cousin, a baptismal sponsor, or even a parent, was to be atoned for by EIGHT GROS, if the Church had not been previously acquainted with it, and in that case the demand rose to TEN GROS.—Murther was not forgotten in the catalogue of crimes, and even parricide had its settled absolution at a DUCAT AND FIVE CARLINS (*a*).—Yet there was one misfortune left—if the offenders were seized by the secular arm all the indulgencies in the world could not arrest its progress. The consolation however still remained, that if they expired on the rack their spiritual safety was secure, and that the executioner was only the rude instrument of conducting them into Abraham's bosom, and eternal glory!

It is astonishing that the Court of Rome should ever have been so weak as to publish (*b*) this list of crimes with the corresponding prices, but it appeared in 1514.—If indeed the publication was to be disputed, which has never yet been done, it would be of little consequence, as the tax existed in the Chancery at Rome, which excludes the possibility of denying it.—We ought however to do Leo the justice of acknowledging these criminal extravagancies were not of his invention. They had

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(*a*) *Taxe Cancellarie Apostolice de Ind. Laic.*——*Taxe sacre Penitentiarie Apostolice.*—On the Roman Chancery, Datery, and Penitentiary, Van Espen (*Jus. Ecclesias. Univer. par.* 1. *Tit.* 23. *c.* 1, 2, 3, 4.) may be consulted with advantage.

(*b*) The Roman edition of 1514, "apud Marcellum Silber in campo Floræ," is scarce, though there are some copies yet remaining which have escaped the searches of the friends of the Church of Rome, and been preserved by its enemies.—The other editions are those of Cologne 1515, "apud Gosuinum Colinium," republished 1523.—Paris 1520, "apud Tossanum Denis in vico S. Jacobi ad crucem ligneam."—Venice 1584, "cum Oceano juris,"—and one at Bois-le-Duc, "apud Stephanum du Mont, 1664," printed verbatim from the Roman copy, as appears by the annexed attestation of the Magistrates of Bois-le-Duc.

had an earlier origin; and in promoting them to fill his coffers, he had only recourse to what had been already practised by his predecessors.—John the XXIId, who made money of every thing (*c*), first settled the Tariff, and in Leo's time the inferior agents who had the management of the trade were more reprehensible for their insolence than the Pontiff.—The complaints and murmurs might perhaps have ceased in an instant, if on the receipt of the immense sums drawn from Germany, Leo had appeared to disapprove of the conduct of his agents, instead of protecting them with an indiscreet warmth of temper; and it has been believed the project would have succeeded, even if he had continued neuter.—Far from such a judicious line of conduct, he despised at first the report made to him from Wittenberg, and observed, "that "Martin was a bright genius, and that the whole was "only

Martin Luther

(*c*). "—Mezerai forme les mêmes accusations contre Jean XXII. Il avoit, selon lui, amassé son tresor par ses exactions sur le Clergé (*Mezerai Abrege Chronol. tom.* 3. 135.) Fra. Paolo (*Traite des Benefices,* 225,) y est encore plus expres et quand après avoir pesé les termes de tous ces auteurs, on etudie avec un peu de reflexion le Livre des Taxes, on ne peut s'empecher d'y voir mille traits si bien assortis à l' Idee qu'ils donnent des extorsions de ce Pape, et qui en justifient si bien la verité qu'il n'est presque plus possible de ne le pas regarder comme l'auteur de cet horrible ouvrage. Mais ce qui acheve enfin de m'en convainere, le voici: C'est que dans les Taxes de la Chancelerie Apostolique, publiées sous Leo X, il est fait mention expresse et reitere de Taxes de Jean XXII. Ce livre y est citè, si je ne me trompe, plus de vingt-fois; on y entrevoit qu'il avoit été amplifié par d'autres Papes; on y indigne certaines taxes; on y marque quand on y deroge, et quand on y ajoute; et à moins que je ne m'abuse fort, on n'y parle des taxes d'aucun autre Pape anterieur à celui-la, Rien donc de plus naturel que de regarder ces Taxes comme la Production de Jean XXII." *Lettres sur les Jubiles par Chais. tom.* 2. 680—682. 12*mo. La Haye,* 1751.

"only one of the little quarrels of a convent (*d*)." His first expedient, when he was roused from his slumbers, was an attempt to bribe the Monk, and to silence him by gentleness and kindness.—He neglected nothing likely to corrupt him, and made him the most magnificent offers, but neither the blasts of persecution, nor the splendid rewards which were set before him, could warp Luther's inflexible disposition.—Leo, unable to silence or seduce his formidable antagonist, then excommunicated him, and prevailed on the Emperor to put him under the ban of the Empire, after having first tried every effort to induce the Elector of Saxony to put him to death.—Luther, whose credit and reputation (*e*) increased daily, and whose

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(*d*) "Che Frà Martino era un bellissimo ingegno, e chè coteste erano invidie fratesche."

(*e*) "Luther's Life and History have been a fruitful subject for almost innumerable authors. Mosheim has briefly sketched out the leading features of his character.—'None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived.—It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but few things in his character that render him liable to reproach."

Dr. Maclaine's Translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. 4. 29. 8*vo.* 1790.

On the subject of Luther's infirmities and defects Dr. Robertson has forestalled me in an observation which I should otherwise have made;—"That in passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and whose cause was now openly espoused by the Elector of Saxony, and some other German Princes, no longer kept any terms with the See of Rome, and boldly rent the veil which had so long concealed a collection of sacred absurdities.—The Golden Colossus was shaken to its basis, and it was discovered that it had been only filled with rubbish, bones, and mud.

Notwithstanding this furious Reformer's natural impetuosity of temper, he preserved for a while some appearances of respect for the Triple Crown, and in his dedication to the Treatise on Christian Liberty he calls the Roman Pontiff " the most excellent Leo," and describes him as a lamb amongst wolves—a second Daniel in Babylon—and another Ezekiel, surrounded with scorpions.—Provoked however by the thunders of the Vatican, he lost his moderation, and " the most excellent Leo" was transformed into " diabolical filth"—" Stercus Diaboli"—and " the Governor of Sodom."—" How delightful it " would be," he says, " master Leo, to see you and your " Cardinals dangling from the gallows, like the seals to " your bulls!—Take care, my little Pope—softly, my " little friend, you are upon ice—it is very slippery—you " may break a leg, and if in the tumble you should " chance

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maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually." (*Hist. of the Emperor Charles the Vth, book* 6. *vol.* 3. 67. 4*to.* 1769.—The Reader will apply the remark, and feel its consequence.

"chance to drop any thing, they may cry, 'What the "'Devil is this?'"—The most abominable abuse and raillery, in short, were plentifully poured on the Holy Father, and such a mixture is always formidable.—Pascal was fully sensible (*f*) of the efficacy of the potion, and this sublime Jansenist distributed it very liberally to his friends the Jesuits in the last century.—Yet the pleasantries of Luther and the wit of Pascal are very different, and Martin's salt wants the refinement of that of Blaise.

It has been matter of doubt whether the gross injuries which Luther vomited forth in an age less polished than our own, and strengthened by the solidity of his arguments, were of real service to his cause.—Whatever may be the opinion, his adversaries undoubtedly were equally abusive.—Many of the ablest champions of the Papal party have unanimously agreed that he was the offspring of a bestial commerce between his mother and a goat, or the Devil under that disguise.—This finishes the argument, and leaves not another word to be said upon the question.—Joyful as the deliverance from the yoke of spiritual bondage has been, there is one Protestant, and that Protestant is Leibnitz, who hazards the following sentiments in the preface to his Diplomatic Code.—"The

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(*f*) Bayle, no bad judge either of an offensive attack, or the best method of repelling it, has judiciously observed, "Une refutation serieuse ne fait pas à beaucoup près tant de mal, que les railleries d'un homme d'esprit."

"The last Popes before the Reformation, wishing to "strain their power beyond all bounds, by that means "lost the authority which is their due, and in which "Christianity had such an interest."—In another passage he speaks more forcibly;—"Since God is the God of "Order, and the Body of the individual Catholic and "Apostolic Church under a single Government and a "Hierarchy, which includes all its members, is of Divine "Right; it follows that there is of Divine Right also a "Sovereign Magistrate, contained within due bounds, "with a directing Power, and the faculty of doing every "thing necessary for the safety of the Church, though "the seat of this spiritual power has been established at "Rome only by human means, and out of temporal "motives (*g*)."

These sentiments of Leibnitz will not probably find many advocates out of the pale of the Roman Catholic church, though the Protestants capable of examining them with candour, without enthusiasm, and without prejudice, will agree in lamenting that this memorable revolution in the human mind should have been the occasion of so many wars and massacres (*h*).—Truth and Liberty

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(*g*) *T.* 5. *p.* 228. *Ep.* 8. *ad Fabricium.*

(*h*) "Nullas infestas hominibus BESTIAS ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus," (*Amm. Marcell. lib.* 22. *c.* 5.) is the correct, but severe observation of a writer who had attended to the early inveteracy of the Christian sects against each other, and both Belgium and the Plains of Languedoc have verified, Liberty are inestimable blessings, but the blood of man has also its value!

If Leo the Xth had foreseen the important consequences of these measures, and that his spiritual empire was to run the risk of losing one half of its subjects, in all likelihood he would have opposed the reformation with more eagerness, rather than have directed his whole attention to inferior objects, or disturbed the peace of Italy again for less essential interests.—It is not certain whether he inherited merely his predecessor's intentions, and wished but to drive the Ultramontanes out of Italy, whether he meant to satisfy himself with the recovery of Parma and Placentia, or took aim at the addition of Ferrara on which he had long cast his eyes. After floating a long time between the two rival monarchs, he finally attached himself to the Emperor Charles the Vth, who saw with great impatience the French continue in the possession of the Milanese. Francis had sent Lautrec into Italy but without the sinews of war, and consequently without the means of resisting the efforts of the combined arms. Fortune did not long hesitate on which side the scale should preponderate.—The principal attack was made against Milan, and both the Pope's personal hatred of Lautrec and the Emperor's wishes appeared to be united in their object. The

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after many centuries, the mournful fact.—The Pagan authority of the Latin author is supported by the Christian evidence of St. Chrysostome in his 27th Homily on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

Capture of Milan, and recovery of Parma and Placentia.

Death of Leo the Xth.

The capture of Milan was not a work of much difficulty, and Parma and Placentia soon fell after it. The intelligence of these successive instances of good fortune which followed each other so rapidly, was conveyed immediately to Rome, and it gave Leo more satisfaction as he durst not even hope for such an expeditious and complete triumph. His joy was, notwithstanding, too powerful, and it brought on a fever, which ill treated or neglected carried him in a few days to the tomb (*i*).—It was commonly reported that he died of an excess of joy, but it was neither true nor probable.—Faintings have been often produced by such emotions: death seldom happens, and only in those cases where the effect is very violent from an instantaneous transition of extreme sorrow to extreme happiness. Death also in such circumstances is immediate, owing to an increased flow of blood into the ventricles of the heart, and the patient does not sink as Leo did after a weak and languid intermission of many days.—Perhaps this cause of his death has been imagined as a contrast to that of his predecessor, who narrowly escaped having his head taken off by a cannon-shot, and died afterwards of a slow fever, which was attributed to chagrin.—Some writers have accused Malespina Leo's cham-

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(*i*) "Morì di morte inaspettatata il primo giorno di Decembre il Pontefice Leone, ilquale havendo havuto alla villa della Magliana, dove spesso si riduceva per sua ricreatione, la nuova dell' acquisto di Milano, et ricevutone incredibile piacere, soprapreso la notte medesima da piccola febbre, et fattosi il giorno seguente portare a Roma, ancor che da' Medici fusse riputato di piccolo momento il principio della sua infermità; morì fra pochissimi giorni." *Guicciardini*, *lib.* 13. 415.

chamberlain of administering to him a powder, that it is seldom necessary to repeat, and they have insisted the proofs were suppressed out of respect for the French Monarch (*a*)—The last argument is sufficient to discredit the assertion.—The hero of Marignan did not attack his enemies with corrosive sublimate, and neither infusions of arsenic nor hemlock were his arms.

The death of the Roman Pontiff was, notwithstanding, so unexpected, that he did not receive the last sacraments of the Church, and the circumstance gave rise to the lines,

> "SACRA sub extremâ si forte requiritis horâ,
> Cur Leo non poterat sumere? VENDIDERAT."

His character.

Leo the Xth was in the forty-sixth year of his age, in the height of prosperity, and the male legitimate line of Cosmo de' Medici ended with him as he survived his two brothers and his nephew Lorenzo.—His was a mixed character, disfigured by many bad qualities, adorned by many virtues,

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(*a*) Guicciardini is one of those authors who have stated the suspicion. "Non senza SOSPETTO GRANDE di veleno, datogli, secondo si dubitava, da Bernabò Malespina suo Cameriere, deputato a dargli de bere: ilquale se ben fusse incarcerato per questa sospitione, non fu ricercata più oltre la cosa: perche il Cardinale de' Medici come fugiunto a Roma, lo fece liberare, per non havere occasione di contrare maggiore inimicitia col Rè di Francia, per opera di chi si mormorava, ma con autore, et congetture incerte, Bernabò havergli dato il veleno." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 416.

virtues, and he deceived the world both in respect of his talents and integrity (*b*). If the former were ever doubted, they were afterwards universally acknowledged, and the latter though it might have been once believed at last ceased to be even problematical.—A fickle instability of temper, perfidy would be perhaps too severe a term for it, seemed to be natural to him, and it varied his sentiments on every change of fortune. Yet inconstancy may sometimes have reason on its side, hypocrisy has none.—His conduct, to borrow Dante's idea, was rather marked by the cunning wiles of the Fox, than the generous boldness of the Lion—

> "——— l' opere sue,
> Non furon Leonine ma di Volpe."

Fregoso the Doge of Genoa with great address reproached him for his want of candour, his crooked system of politics, and his duplicity. Having laid himself open to some censure on the same principles, he apologized to the Roman Pontiff by a species of manifesto in a letter, where after having stated his reasons for his conduct, he proceeds to observe that he flattered himself they

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(*b*) "Morì, se tu risguardi l'opinione de gli huomini, in grandissima felicità, et gloria. ——— Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, et di vituperio molte cose, et che ingannò assai l'espettatione che quando fu assunto al Ponteficato s'haveva di lui; conciosia ch'ei riuscisse di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bontà di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti." *Guicciardini*, *lib.* 13. 416.

they were such as his Holiness must approve of, though he should have doubted of being able to justify himself to a simple individual, or a sovereign so little enlightened as to conceive the scrupulous maxims in private life ought always to be adhered to in public transactions; that he had, however, the happiness of explaining himself to a sovereign of the greatest political sagacity, and who knew better than any other person how far state reasons allowed princes to deviate from the strict rules of morality, and that the dissimulation which concealed what was meant, and proposed what was never intended, instead of being criminal was a laudable discretion.

Leo the Xth's excessive attachment to dissipation and pleasures of every kind was another stain in his character (*c*). In the words of an old French author, " Il alloit " à la chasse fort souvent, et voyoit fort bien en l'air " haut eslevés les esperviers, vautours et aigles, mais en " récompense il lisoit, mettant la lettre auprès du nez, " encore n'y pouvoit-il voir goute; ce qui m'a fait souve- " nir d'un bon Curé, qui ne peut lire ès grosses lettres des " livres d'église sans lunettes, et néanmoins voit fort bien ès

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(*c*) " Egli per natura dedito all'ocio, et a'piaceri, et hora per la troppa licenza, et grandezza alieno sopra modo dall e facende, immerso ad udire tutto'l giorno musiche, facetie, et buffoni, inclinato ancora troppo più, che l'honesto a'piaceri." (*Guicciardini, lib.* 14. 398.)—Bower has collected some of his witticisms and buffooneries. *History of the Popes, vol.* 7. 417.

" ès plus petits dez qu'on sauroit choisir, et ne le pour-
" roit-on abuser (*d*)."

They who recollect what all the historians have said of his violent passion for the chace, which was not a Papal exercise and took up a vast portion of his time, will not without a smile peruse his correspondence with the Emperor and Francis the Ist, on their attention to his favourite amusements (*e*).

A more serious accusation remains to be noticed and that is the impiety, with which he has been charged. Two philosophers are said to have been disputing in his presence, one of whom denied the immortality of the soul, which the other insisted on, when he terminated the difference by observing that the affirmative of the proposition appeared to him probable, but the negative was more proper for a person who wished to enjoy himself.—Luther relates the story in his commentary on the Book of Genesis, but it is a paltry piece of wit.—The love of existence is so strongly woven in the human heart, that a belief of annihilation would poison all its pleasures !

Another

(*d*) " Des Accords, Bigarrures."

(*e*) " Aquilas quatordecim avibus capiendis idoneas, quas mihi Adulfus Vandra familiaris tuus attulit, regium sanè munus libenter ut debui accepi. Et sunt enim im-

Another witticism is said likewise to have escaped him on a similar occasion. "You will allow, my good "friends,

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ræ pulchritudinis, et abs te, quem ego mihi filii loco esse duxi: ejus præterea generis, quod omnium et nobilius est et rarius: ut neque multæ ullis in locis capiantur, neque sæpe ad nos veniant. Tu vero uno munere tot misisti, ut existimem earum capiendarum artem aliquam te callere. Nisi fortè ipsæ sponte suâ omnibus e regionibus isto convolant, ut abs te capiantur, tibique serviant. Quod si est, tu eis malè gratus fuisti, qui ad me miseris. Sed omnino extra jocum, mallem tibi eas retinuisses, quam mihi misisses; quippe quæ tibi voluptati multo magis fuissent, quam mihi erunt, qui tantummodo cum autumni Romanum cœlum fugio, valetudinis interdum causâ venatione aucupioque me oblecto, vel eos potius, qui mecum sunt; ut jocundior per agros vagatio et delectabilior nos diutius in labore viæ teneat. Tu vero adolescens et Rex, ut multas horas omni tempore consumere arbitratu tuo possis, eis et sæpius usus fuisses, et utilius, addo etiam et decentius. Quod mihi tamen munus ipsum tuum multo charius atque amabilius facit; cum eo te defraudes ipse, qui uti rectè potes, ut mihi des, qui non possum. Et quoniam bellissimæ, ut dixi, sunt, dabo operam, ut aliquo te remunerer munere. Interea valebis, nosque ut facis diliges. Dat. IIII. Id. Januar. 1516. Anno quarto. Româ." *Carolo Hispaniæ Regi.*

"Accepi tuis cum litteris et canes venaticos ad perquirendas feras et casses ex tela ad concludendas idoneos, quos misisti: utrumque munus et numero et pulchritudine sanè regium, et mihi apprimè gratum vel per sese, vel quod abs te proficiscitur. Itaque et iis jam sum bis terve usus multâ cum voluptate: quos mihi etiam probatiores fecit Bardariæ familiaris tui, qui eos attulit, industria: et utar posthac, cum per negotia occupationesque meas exire Româ mihi licebit. Omnino enim experior tum equitationem illam, tum avocationem animi, quam sibi vindicat tantisper venatio, valde mihi proficere ad valetudinem viresque corporis vel firmandas vel restituendas. Quare cum eo de munere, tum de curâ quam geris de salute meâ, valde te amo. Hortor autem, etiamsi minus necessè est, quando ego te verâ solidâque benevolentiâ prosequor, tu me amare magnopere ostendis, perstemus uterque, quemadmodum quidem facimus, in eodem tum inter nos, tum erga rempublicam sensu: ut et nobis ipsi et Dei Ecclesiæ esse usui et dignitati possimus. Dat. Id. Apr. Anno quinto. Româ." *Francisco Gallorum Regi.*

Sir William Blackstone has remarked, "The Pontifical or Canon Law interdicts "Venationes et sylvaticas vagationes cum canibus et accipitribus" (*Decretal. lib.* 5. *tit.* 24. *c.* 2.) to all Clergymen; grounded on a saying of St. Jerome "Venatorem nunquam legimus sanctum," (*Decret. pars.* 1. *Dist.* 34. *c.* 1.) and that it never "friends, that the Fable of Christianity has been of great service to us," which is equally destitute of probability. It was indeed attributed to Boniface the VIIIth and several others.—That Leo was very gay, cannot be denied—a prince most attentive to his temporal concerns, we must admit—a Pope that did not believe in the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, be it so—but he had still great sense and understanding.—To avow without decency such gross improprieties is not common with those who are guilty of the most irregularities in such stations, and the Popes might be counted in the twinkling of an eye, who have not had religion enough for this world.——

Notwithstanding the reproaches, which have been made

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was recorded that these diversions were used by the Saints or primitive Fathers. The Canons of our Saxon Church published in the reign of Edgar (*Cap.* 64.) concur in the same prohibition: though our secular laws at least after the Conquest and even in the times of Popery dispense with this Canonical impediment, and Spiritual persons were allowed by the common law to hunt for their recreation, in order to render them fitter for the performance of their duty: as a confirmation whereof we may observe that it is to this day a branch of the King's prerogative at the death of every bishop (4. *Inst.* 309.) to have his kennel of hounds, or a composition in lieu thereof." (*Comment on the Laws of England, vol.* 2. 412. 8*vo.* 1794.)—The Legal Reader will recollect the case of Archbishop Abbot, who had the misfortune to kill a Park-keeper in shooting at a deer, reported in the State Trials with a profusion of Canonical learning. After a variety of arguments the proceedings were laid before the Lord Keeper, Judges, and Bishops, and they recommended the King to give the Right Rev. Prelate a dispensation "IN MAJOREM CAUTELAM, SI QUÆ FORTE SIT IRREGULARITAS." Sir H. Spelman went deep into the question, as may be seen in the Reliquia Spelman. 107.

made to Leo the Xth, and which in some degree he merited, his memory will not cease to be honoured, and he will continue to interest us in spite of his weaknesses or faults.—The great example of his illustrious father was not lost upon him, and with an hereditary taste for the arts, sciences, and letters, he distinguished them by his protection and his patronage.—His pontifical reign was considered as a second age of gold, and Pope has not with the privilege of a poet called fiction to his aid when he describes in glowing colours that brilliant era.

Observations on the Arts and Sciences under his reign.

"But see! each Muse, in Leo's golden days,
Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays,
Rome's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head.
Then Sculpture and her sister arts revive;
Stones leap'd to form, and rocks began to live,
With sweeter notes each rising temple rung,
A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung,
Immortal Vida! on whose honour'd brow
The Poet's bays and Critic's ivy grow:
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in Fame (*f*)!

Even the language of ancient Rome seemed to revive with elegance.—Leo was no sooner honoured with the Tiara than he made choice of Bembo, a noble Venetian, and

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(*f*) *Pope's Essay on Criticism*, 697—708.

and Sadoleto of Modena, as secretaries of his briefs, two writers of the most polished verse and prose. The rigid moralist has however perceived in some of Bembo's productions an air of corruption and of licentiousness.—His Azolans, Treatises on Love, written in the Castle of Azola, enjoyed great reputation on their first appearance, but their periods are the periods of a league.—His Elegy of Galatea is a master-piece.—In their official capacity Bembo and his colleague affected rather too much an imitation of Cicero's style and manner, and, as Justus Lipsius has observed, it sometimes creates a smile, and sometimes indignation. From an Ecclesiastical subject there is often an immediate transition to a temporal, profane, and even a Pagan one, and the Holy Father is very frequently made to swear, like an ancient Heathen, by the immortal Gods, or Hercules (*g*). It will be only necessary to cite a single passage, where Leo reproaches the inhabitants of Recanati for having furnished the building of our Lady of Loretto with bad wood, and demands of them a supply of a better quality, "Ne tum nos, tum "etiam DEAM ipsam lusisse videamini."

It has been pretended that Bembo said those hours of his life had been wasted which he had employed in the study of the Scriptures—that he spoke with great contempt

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(*g*) "Quod ita fore spem in Diis immortalibus habemus. ——— Eo accepto nuncio valdè mehercule gravisus sum."

tempt of the Epistles of St. Paul—and that he never repeated his Breviary that he might not corrupt his Latin.—The whole of this deserves but little credit.—Bembo's letters and his life prove him to have been both a man of letters and a good Christian, but he had ridiculously adopted the phrases of Cicero on ecclesiastical or religious subjects, and Erasmus has ridiculed it with great wit and ingenuity in his Ciceronianus (*a*).—Bembo's Latin style is forced and laboured—words and things are perpetually at war; and if he always triumphs, it is sometimes by the dint of excessive pains, and sometimes at the expence of judgment.—The Roman Orator is to the Prelate what a graceful Dancer is to a Posture-Master.

St. Gregory the Great had formerly fallen into an opposite extreme, and nothing appeared to him more indignant

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(*a*) " Hanc sententiam—Jesus Christus, verbum et filius Æterni Patris, juxta prophetias venit in mundum, ac factus homo, sponte se in mortem tradidit, ac redemit ecclesiam suam, offensique patris iram avertit a nobis, eique nos reconciliavit, ut per gratiam fidei justificati, et a tyrannide liberati, inseramur ecclesiæ, et in ecclesiæ communione perseverantes, post hanc vitam consequamur regnum cælorum; sic efferret Ciceronianus: 'Optimi maximique Jovis interpres ac filius, servator, rex, juxta vatum responsa, ex olympo devolavit in terras, et hominis assumptâ figurâ, sese pro salute reipublicæ sponte devovit diis manibus, atque ita concionem sive civitatem, sive rempublicam suam asseruit in libertatem, ac Jovis optimi maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum eo redegit in gratiam, ut persuasionis munificentiâ ad innocentiam reparati, et a sycophantæ dominatu manumissi, coöptemur in civitatem, et in reipublicæ societate perseverantes, quum fata nos evocarint ex hac vitâ, in Deorum immortalium consortio, rerum summâ potiamur."

dignant "than to submit the Divine Oracles to the rules of grammar or the Ferule of Donatus (*b*)." Yet the Holy Father's zeal carried him undoubtedly too far. Elegance of language must be desirable on any subject, and a doubt might still remain of the truth of St. Jerome's pious tale of the Angels having descended from Heaven to scourge those profane theologians who had the audacity to turn over a page of classical literature, if the Saint had not been very feelingly in person convinced of the reality of their mission. "Nec vero sopor ille fuit," he says, in his letter to the devout Eustochium, "aut vanum somnium, quo sæpe deludimur. Nunquam mihi contingat in talem iterum incidere quæstionem! LIVENTES HABUI SCAPULAS, PLAGAS SENSI POST SOMNUM, et tanto dehinc studio divina legi, quanto non antea mortalia legeram."

Bembo's History of Venice, on the model of Cæsar's Commentaries, is dry and cold, and only recommended by the purity of the style.—In general his works smell too much of the lamp, and have lost some of their force and substance by the polish (*c*).—A single Sonnet cost him an application of many months (*d*), but his Sonnets and

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(*b*) "Indignum vehementer existimo ut verba cælestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati."

(*c*) "Video non deesse qui Bembi scripta non tam expurgata, quam religione nimiâ propè quâdam attenuata esse contendant." *Casa, Vita Bembi.*

(*d*) "Il reverendissimo e dottissimo Bembo penò talora a far un sonetto molti mesi e forse anni, se a coloro si può credere che l'affermano." *Vasari.*

and Canzoni are only inferior to those of Petrarch.—On his own maternal language he bestowed great pains, and it owes him many obligations.—After a careful study of the best classical authors, he laid down rules for it, and reduced it into a system (*e*).—Bembo was raised to the Purple under Paul the IIId.

Sadoleto.

Sadoleto (*f*), his colleague, wrote principally on grave and serious subjects, adapted to his situation, and on moral and theological questions. His panegyric on Philosophy, and his Poem of Marcus Curtius were well received; but his chief work was another Poem, where, entering the lists with Virgil, he has described with wonderful vivacity the terrible group of the Laocoon, that living and feeling statue, which was dug up in Leo's reign, within the baths of the Tiber.—Reading Sadoleto, the group starts up at once before the astonished eye, and the Modenese Poet equals the Rhodian Sculptor (*g*).

This

(*e*) "Sunt Bembi de ratione Etruscè loquendi libri tres, in dialogo mirabiliter scripti, quibus profectò effectum est, ut, quod homines Etruscè loquantur, non bonæ modo jam consuetudinis sit, sed jam etiam scientiæ ac rationis."

Casa, Vita Bembi.

(*f*) "Hujusmodi Ciceronianos, qualem Sadoletum, ferre possum, qui summo præditi ingenio, disciplinis omnibus absoluti, tum judicio prudentiâque singulari, sive unum Tullium in dicendo sibi proposuerunt, sive paucos eximios, sive doctos omnes, non possunt non optimè dicere." *Erasm. Ciceroniam.*

(*g*) "Le statue sono eccellentissime, e degne d'ogni lode. Voi per certo lo potrete vedere dai soli versi di Jacopo Sadoleto, uomo il più dotto di questa città, il

This able and judicious Roman Catholic had the strength of mind and the goodness of heart to distinguish and serve merit out of his own Church, and he lived in terms of friendship, and preserved a correspondence with some of the first Reformers. In a letter to one of them he assures him, "that as often as he has occasion to mention him, or Bucer, or Melanchton, to whose learning "he always does justice, he gives the world to know that "he sincerely esteems them, and that he is ready to do "them every kind office in his power." And these were not cold compliments.—When the Parliament of Provence sentenced nineteen inhabitants of the little village of Merindole to the flames, and decreed their houses to be demolished, and their property destroyed, the Vaudois flew in consternation to him. Sadoleto, who was then at his Bishopric of Carpentras, though they differed in their religious faith, received them with the humanity of a philosopher, and interceded in their favour.

Piero Valeriano Belzani of Venice, was warmly attached to Leo the Xth, and to the whole House of Medici. He was profoundly versed in the study of antiquity, and had bestowed many of his hours on Virgil.—His treatise "De Infelicitate Literatorum" is full of curious

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quale a mio giudizio ha descritto Laocoönte, e i suoi figluoli non meno elegantemente colla penna, che gl'istessi artifici le abbiano condotte collo scalpello. Finalmente quegli, che leggeranno i versi del Sadoleto, non avranno gran fatto da desiderare di vedere le statue stesse; tanto egli mette sotto gli occhi ciascuna cosa."

Cesare Trivulzio.

rious matter and interesting details, but he wants judgment and discernment.

Vida.

It was under Leo's Pontificate that the most celebrated modern Latin Poets flourished.—Vida, Bishop of Alba, on the Tanero, was born at Cremona, and he reconciled his native city with the Muses.—If we are to believe Filelfo, it was the only town in Italy where learning was not in some estimation, and where men of letters were very ill received. Filelfo quitted it almost on the moment of his arrival, and poured out a torrent of curses and imprecations on its inhabitants (*h*). Vida however introduced a literary taste into his native city, and in return, they lose no opportunity of observing his cradle was near that of Virgil. After the Georgics, Vida's Poetics are perhaps the best Didactic Poem in the most classical verse, but his numbers are superior to his matter. They are sometimes even worthy of Virgil, for they are those of Virgil. He treats however his subject in an original manner, and the succeeding writers who have touched on the precepts of the art, either in verse or prose, owe him many obligations.

(*h*) "In crastinum diem hinc (Cremonâ) solvam, quod eò facio libentius, ne qua per mc accedat vel utilitas vel voluptas ad tuos istos barbaros, quos Deus Opt. Max. radicitus perdat, idque propediem. Domum autem quam mihi paraveram, sibi ipsi habeant unà cum pestilentiâ atque ignorantiâ. Vale." *Epist. Philelph.*

"Apud Cremonenses nullus est neque musis neque probitati locus." *Ep. Phil.*

"Abeant in rem malam Cremonenses tui et tu item cum istis, si dignos putas quibus ignoscam." *Epist. Philelph.*

tions.—His "Silk-Worm" has not the same merit, and his "Chess" has still less.—The "Christiad" is a History of our Saviour's Life in verse, and has no pretensions whatever to Leo's compliment of the

"Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii!"

If Vida failed on a divine subject, Sannazario was less able to adapt his Christian airs to the strings of Apollo's lyre.—His Poem "De Partu Virginis" contains undoubtedly many beautiful passages, and there is great harmony in the versification, but there is a preposterous and indecent mixture of Paganism and its fables.—Christianity has no connection with the Muses, and the Mysteries of the Faith are inconsistent with the system of the Heathen mythology.

"Nec minus, o Musæ, vatum decus, hic ego vestros
Optârim fonteis, vestras nemora ardua rupeis:
Quandoquidem genus e cœlo deducitis, et vos
Virginitas, sanctæque juvat reverentia famæ.
Vos igitur, seu cura poli, seu Virginis hujus
Tangit honos, monstrate viam, qua nubila vincam;
Et mecum immensi portas recludite cœli.
Magna quidem, magna, Aonides, sed debita posco,
Nec vobis ignota: etenim potuistis et antrum
Adspicere et choreas: nec vos orientia cœlo
Signa, nec Eoos reges latuisse putandum est (i)."

(i) *Sannazarii de Partu Virginis, lib. 1. 7—18.*

"Protinus agnoscens dominum procumbit humi bos
Cernuus: et, mora nulla, simul procumbit asellus
Submittens caput, et trepidanti poplite adorat.
Fortunati ambo: non vos aut fabula Cretæ
Polluet, antiqui referens mendacia furti,
Sidoniam mare per medium vexisse puellam:
Aut sua dum madidus celebrat portenta Cytheron,
Infameis inter thyrsos, vinosaque sacra,
Arguet obsequio senis insudasse profani (*k*)."

"—— Jam festas mediatur Luna choreas:
Exsultant Hyades: gaudet mutata Boötes
Plaustra auro, totosque auro fulgere juvencos.
Tunc primum visa est miseri post fata parentis
Risisse Erigone, et longum posuisse dolorem:
Armatoque ensis subducitur Orioni (*l*)."

"Intremuere Erebi sedes, obscuraque Ditis
Limina: suspirans imo de corde Megæra
Dat gemitum, et torvas spectat sine mente sorores.
Tum caudam exululans sub ventre recondidit atram
Cerberus, et sonteis latratu terruit umbras:
Commotisque niger Cocytus inhorruit antris:
Et vaga Sisyphiis hæserunt saxa lacertis (*m*)"

The

(*k*) *Sannazarii, lib.* 2. 381—389.

(*l*) *Sannaz. lib.* 3. 120—125.

(*m*) *Sannaz. lib.* 1. 456—462.

CHAP. VII.

The visit and the prophetic conference of Proteus with the river Jordan are the height of extravagance.

> " . . . . Mendax si cætera Proteus,
> Non tamen hoc vanas effudit carmine voces.
> Adveniet tibi, Jordanes, properantibus annis,
> Adveniet, mihi crede, inquit, (certissima cœlum
> Signa dedit: nec me delusum oracula fallunt:)
> Qui te olim Nili supra septemplicis ortus,
> Supra Indum et Gangem, fontemque binominis Istri
> Adtollet fama ——— (*n*)."

The river has also its attendant water-nymphs like a Pagan stream.

> " Agmina densantur natæ, pulcherrima Glauce,
> Dotoque, Protoque, Galenaque, Lamprothoëque,
> Nudæ humeros, nudis discinctæ veste papillis:
> Callirhoë, Byroque, Pherusaque, Dinameneque,
> Asphaltisque adsueta leveis fluitare per undas:
> Ipsaque odoratis perfusa liquoribus Anthis,
> Anthis, qua non ulla novos miscere colores
> Doctior, aut pictis caput exornare coronis.
> Mox Hyale, atque Thoë, et vultu nitidissima Crene,
> Gongisteque, Rhoëque, et candida Limnoria,
> Et Dryope, et virideis Botane resoluta capillos:
> Ore Omnes formosæ, albis in vestibus omnes,
> Omnes puniceis evinctæ crura cothurnis (*o*)."

These

(*n*) *Sannazarii, lib.* 3. 336—342.

(*o*) *Sannaz. lib.* 3. 285—297.

These palpable absurdities and enormous errors of the head are not balanced by the graces of his style, and perhaps the single Hymn of Prudentius, so full of simplicity and unction, which opens with the

"Emerge dulcis pusio,
Quem mater dat Virguncula,
Parens et expers Conjugis (*a*),

is preferable to the three Cantos of the Neapolitan Bard.—Leo the Xth was off his guard, or entertained too high an opinion of the Poet, when he addressed a brief to Sannazario on the triumph of his Muse, and thanked Providence for having raised up such a champion, when the Church was attacked by so many enemies.

What a blow was this Poem "De Partu Virginis" for Luther and Melancthon!—Have the Eclogues of Sannazario more merit?—The scene is laid on the sea-shore—his shepherds are fishers—the sea calves his lambs—and the halcyons his linnets.—Theocritus was sometimes equally absurd,

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(*a*) *Aurel. Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn.* 11. *ad.* 8. *calendas Januarias sive de Natali Domini.*

Weitzius, in the edition, 8*vo*, *Hanov.* 1613, reads "Quem Matris edit castitas," instead of "Quem Mater dat Virguncula."

absurd (*b*), and Metastasio (*c*) has followed the example. Yet this licence, excusable as it may be, according to the sentiments of some Critics, in the warm imagination of these two Sicilian Poets, is utterly inconsistent with the colder genius of the North.—Ice and white bears are too repugnant to the soft and voluptuous ideas of indolence and love.—Accustomed to the picture of a shepherd presenting his mistress with a garland of flowers, or a basket of fruit,

> " . . . . tenera lanugine mala,
> Castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat, (*d*)."

we must be naturally surprised with the lover who founds a claim to a return of his passion on the present of a barrel of oysters, and promises in addition a present of crabs or lobsters.

" Sola

(*b*) *Theocrit. Idyll.* 21.

(*c*) " Già la notte s'avvicina,
Vieni, o Nice, amato bene,
Della placida marina,
Le fresch' aure a respirar.
Non sa dir che sia diletto,
Chi non posa in queste arene,
Or che un lento zeffiretto,
Dolcemente increspa il mar."

(*d*) *P. Virgilii Eclog.* 2. 51, 52.

"Sola fugis? sola et nostros contemnis amores?
OSTREA Miseni pendentibus eruta saxis
MILLE TIBI MISI: totidem sub gurgite vasto
Pausilypus, totidem vitreis Euplœa sub UNDIS
Servat adhuc, PLUREIS NESIS MIHI SERVAT ECHINOS (e)."

Amongst his elegies there are some of perfect beauty. In the epigrams there is a mixture. Some consist of a play of words, others have elegance and grace, of which the following is an example:

"DE JOVE, ET CUPIDINE.

De Veneris nato questa est Dictynna Tonanti,
  Quod nimis ille puer promptus ad arma foret.
Tum pater accito ostendens grave fulmen Amori,
  Hoc tibi, sæve puer, spicula franget, ait.
Cui lascivus Amor motis hæc reddidit alis:
  Quid si iterum posito fulmine Cycnus eris (f)?

Sannazario in the midst of his Latin studies did not neglect his native language, and his Arcadia, a pastoral romance in verse and prose, does him as much credit as his best Latin works. It procured him in Italy, and in other parts of Europe a numerous crowd of imitations, and in Great Britain the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney the governor of Flushing and the romantic candidate for the Crown of Poland. The pastoral of Sannazario would, notwithstanding, long since have been forgotten, if it had not suggested the idea of the academy known under the name of the "Arcadia Romana," which was intended to cultivate this particular species of poetry.— Crescimbeni, the historian of the Italian Muses, and the famous Cardinal de Tournon, who received the Red hat at Pekin, were its principal promoters, and its progress was astonishing.—A rage for pastoral life became the epidemic fever of the day, and the echo of the Seven Hills returned only the sounds of the tabor and pipe.— The City of Cities was changed into a rural village; the Cardinals and nobles were metamorphosed into shepherds or satyrs; and his Holiness ranged like "mighty "Pan" amongst them.—The public was glutted with twenty volumes of their labours, but in this enormous collection a few elegant morsels are to be found, or the Romans think so.—We may admire the diligence of these honest Arcadians, and we shall read Theocritus.

(e) *Sannazarii Eclog.* 2. 29—33.

(f) *Sannazarii Epigram. lib.* 2. 23.

The academy of the Arcadia Romana.

The radical defect of this species of poetry consists in the narrow and confined space it can only occupy, and its ruinous foundation.—Copies are every where obtruded on the public of an original, which is still wanting and no where to be found.—Does it exist with the wandering tribes of the Bedouin Arabs, as has been by some writers supposed? Sheltered by their tents, and supported by the milk of their flocks, they are less stupid than the Negro, and less brutal than the Iroquois, but are they as civilized as they are simple, and do they join to understanding innocence?—Shepherds that rob and plunder every unfortunate passenger they meet, are terrible shepherds.—In the Arcadia of the Ancients the Wolf and the Fox were the only Thieves.—This Roman academy, after having enjoyed for a long while a considerable degree of credit, is at present fallen in the public opinion. The President is said to traffic in the distribution of its patents, and the Abbés, his emissaries, officiously press its declining honours on almost every foreigner who visits Rome.

Fracastorio.

Geronimo Fracastorio of Verona, a philosopher and poet of distinguished reputation, has immortalized himself by a Latin poem, which has a greater resemblance with the Augustine age than any of the works of the other modern writers. The Siphylis of this countryman of Catullus, on a subject the least within the province of the Muses, needs not undoubtedly be mentioned to the classical scholar, and from the elegance and exquisite beauty of the following passage he will excuse its introduction.

“ Ipse ego Cænomanûm memini quâ pinguia dives
Pascua Sebinâ præterfluit Ollius undâ
Vidisse insignem juvenem; quo clarior alter
Non fuit, Ausoniâ nec fortunatior omni :

Vix pubescentis florebat vere juventæ,
Divitiis proavisque potens et corpore pulchro,
Cui studia aut pernicis equi compescere cursum,
Aut galeam induere et pictis splendescere in armis,
Aut juvenile gravi corpus durare palæstrâ,
Venatuque feras agere et prævertere cervos.
Illum omnes Ollique Deæ, Eridanique puellæ
Optarunt, nemorumque Deæ rurisque puellæ,
Omnes optatos suspiravere hymenæos.
Forsan et ultores superos neglecta vocavit
Non nequicquam aliquâ, et votis pia numina movit,
Nam nimium fidentem animis, nec tanta timentem
Invasit miserum labes, quâ sævior usquam
Nulla fuit, nulla unquam aliis spectabitur annis.
Paulatim ver id nitidum, flos ille juventæ
Disperiit, vis illa animi; tum squallida tabes
Artus (horrendum) miseros obduxit, et altè
Grandia turgebant fœdis abscessibus ossa.
Ulcera (proh Divûm pietatem!) informia pulchros
Pascebant oculos, et diæ lucis amorem,
Pascebantque acri corrosas vulnere nares.
Illum Alpes vicinæ, illum vaga flumina flerunt,
Illum omnes Ollique Deæ Eridanique puellæ
Fleverunt, nemorumque Deæ rurisque puellæ,
Sebinusque alto gemitum Lacus edidit amne."

Sannazario is said to have preferred this beautiful poem to his own "De Partu Virginis", and the whole literary world agrees with him in sentiment.—Yet the enthusiasm of a poet for a superior poet is extraordinary!

The

Battista of Mantua.

The Carme Battista of Mantua, who died in 1516, has been compared to Virgil, though the sole resemblance arises from their being both born in Mantua.—Whilst Virgil sung on the banks of the Tiber, the Monk croaked in the sedges of the Mincio.—His allegorical eclogues are truly laughable performances.—Two shepherds dispute in the characters of Carmes, one of whom is for the "strict observance," and the other for a mitigation of their rules.—Bembo is the umpire, and to complete the absurdity, their pipes are taken from them on the apprehensions of the contest being terminated by blows.—In others the shepherds are Epicureans or confirmed disciples of Averroes, and are often guilty of impiety.—Amintas, a little out of humour and in love, attacks both justice and religion, and declares the person to be a complete fool, who imagines after this life he shall go to Heaven. The Mantuan, to apologize for such a profligate idea, tells us, that Amintas had been corrupted by the manners of the city, and Badius his commentator defends him on the acknowledgment that he was in love, and that love and a high degree of faith are not often found together.

In defiance of these absurdities a marble statue crowned with laurel has been erected to the Carme in his native city close to that of Virgil, and his own order even think he has not been sufficiently honoured.—Chariot and horses of Elijah, cry these holy Monks, our Brother by the side of a Pagan!

During the splendid reign of Leo the Xth, public spectacles and theatrical entertainments, so long forgotten or neglected, were revived with great pomp and lustre. Of the tragedies of his cousin-german Ruccellai some notice has been already taken, and the Sophonisba of Trissino will be hereafter mentioned. Bernardo Dovisio, so well known as the Cardinal Bibiena, awakened the Tuscan Thalia out of her sleep or stupor.—This Father of Italian Comedy was born in the neighbourhood of Arezzo, and attached to the Medici from his infancy; he attended Leo in his exile, and stood high in his esteem and favour. Great abilities rendered him as useful as he was entertaining (*g*), and Leo made him a Cardinal on his first promotion. We have the charming comedy of Calandra in prose from his pen, where great intrigue and a true comic vein of humour are happily united, though on the score of morality it is liable to some objections. Leo however directed it to be represented at the Vatican, where it had every advantage from scenery and decorations. Bibiena was sent as a Legate into France, and died soon after his return. From an ill-judged ambition, it has been pretended, that he aspired to the Pontificate, whenever a vacancy might happen, and that during his residence at Paris, Francis the Ist promised him his support. Leo, it is also pretended, younger and more healthy than Bibiena, was so much exasperated at the old

Bernardo Dovisio.

(*g*) "Quod unum in aulâ maximè conducit, jucundus." *Paulus Iovius.*

old Cardinal's pretensions, that Bibiena finding himself ruined in his esteem and suspecting even designs against his life (*a*) died of grief and disappointment.—Nor is this extraordinary.—Courtiers are more sensibly affected with disgrace, than persons, who from a dignity of mind or the virtuous pride of independence cannot sacrifice their principles for empty honours or precarious interest.—Like meteors they dazzle for a moment—in the succeeding one they disappear and are extinguished!

The Mandragola.

Leo having heard of the astonishing success of the "Mandragola," or "Messer Nicia" of Machiavel, on the Florentine stage, was at the expence of bringing the Comedians and the scenery to exhibit it before him (*b*).—Even at this day the "Mandragola" retains its station, and it is indeed the only Italian Comedy of the kind. Is it possible to suppose it to have been the production of the same Genius from whom such profound speculations have originated? The variety and extent of the human mind is perhaps in nothing more conspicuous than in the contrast between the egregious dupe Messer Nicia, the complete cheat brother Timothy, and Machiavel's amazing

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(*a*) "Inani sane argumento." *Paul. Iovius.*

(*b*) "Comiter æstimemus Etruscos sales, ad exemplar comœdiæ veteris Aristophanis, in Niciâ præsertim comœdiâ. Actam Florentiæ ex eâ miri leporis famâ, Leo Pontifex, instaurato ludo, ut Urbi ea voluptas communicaretur, cum toto scenæ cultu ipsisque histrionibus Romam accivit." *Paulus Iovius.*

ing reach of thought, with which he has penetrated into the most secret recesses of Government, and untwisted the most entangled web of politics. But he is a tiger with all the playfulness of a cat.—Count Algarotti considers this comedy as superior to the best of Moliere's pieces, from the manners and comic humour being as well preserved, and the intrigue kept up to the end of the plot, a circumstance often neglected by the French writer. The Mandragola is certainly the first production of the kind since the days of Terence, with great strokes of nature, great humour, perfectly descriptive of Italian manners, especially those of its own times, and painting with great strength all the author wished to represent. Yet the action is so extremely licentious as to be intolerable in our more refined age, and what the Comedian would blush to represent, the audience would not suffer to be exhibited.

Images, purgatory, confession, and Monkish hypocrisy, which a Pope could scarcely wish to destroy, are so openly ridiculed, that Leo's prudence is very questionable in being present at such a Comedy, and applauding such a scene.—The following is one of brother Timothy's soliloquies:

"I have not been able to close my eyes the whole night "from my curiosity of knowing what other people are "doing, but I have contrived to employ myself.—I have

“ said my Matins—I have read the life of one of the Holy “ Fathers—I have been in the Church, and have lighted “ the lamps that were gone out—and I have new dressed “ our Lady of the Miracles.—How often have I begged “ of our Brothers to keep their images clean! Can they “ wonder at the failure of devotion? I can remember “ when we had five hundred images, and now we have “ not twenty.—It is all our fault, and we have lost our “ credit.—After Vespers it was formerly the custom to “ have a procession, and to sing Te Deum, or the Magnificat, every Sabbath.—We had then vows and confessions in plenty.—At present all these things are “ over, and my friends are surprised at the coldness of “ devotion.—Oh! what fools they are (*c*)!”

The Confession scene is as sarcastic.

“ Fra.

(*c*) “ Io non ho potuto questa notte chiuder occhio, tanto è il desiderio ch’io ho d’intendere come Callimaco e gli altri l’abbiano fatta, e ho atteso a consumare il tempo in varie cose. Io dissi matutino, lessi una vita de santi padri, andai in chiesa, e accesi une lampana che era spenta, mutai un velo ad una Madonna che fà miracoli. Quante volte ho io detto a questi frati che la tengano pulita, e si maravigliano poi se la divozione manca. Io mi ricordo esservi cinquecento imagini, e non ve ne sono oggi venti. Questo nasce da noi, che non le abbiamo saputo mantenere la riputazione. Noi vi solevamo ogni sera dopo la compieta andare a processione, e farvi cantare ogni sabato le laude. Botavanci noi sempre quivi, perchè vi si videsse delle imagini fresche; confortavamo, nelle confessioni gli uomini e le donne a botarvisi. Ora non si fà nulla di queste cose, e poi ci maravigliamo se le cose vanno fredde. O quanto poco cervello è in questi miei frati!” *Att.* 5. *Sc.* 1. *Timoteo solo.*

Fra. Tim. "If you wish to confess, I am at your "service."

Donna. "No, no; not to-day: I have an engagement, and I have settled my conscience a little "already. But have you said the masses to our "Lady?"

Fra. Tim. "Certainly."

Donna. "Here, take this florin, and say every "Monday for two months the mass for the repose of my "husband's soul. And yet he was——the fleſh was too "powerful.—Whenever I think of him I have a few fears "about him. Do you believe he is really in purgatory?"

Fra. Tim. "I have not a doubt of it."

Donna. "I am not quite so easy on the subject; but "you know all that passed. How often have I lamented "it to you!—I did all I could—he was so impetuous.— "Oh! Lord, Lord!"

Fra. Tim. "Make yourself quite easy—the Mercy "of the Lord is great—if we only have the inclination "—your husband did not want it—he wanted only time "for penitence."

Donna. "Do you think the Turks will invade us "this year?"

Fra. Tim. "Great alms can only hinder them."

Donna. "Oh Lord, oh Lord! I am terribly afraid "these Devils will impale us (*d*)!"

Yet these were the scenes at which the Pope and twenty Cardinals were ready to burst with laughter!

Machiavel's other comedies are not equal to the Mandragola;

(*d*) "**Fra.** Se voi vi voleste confessare, io farò ciò che voi volete.

Don. Non per oggi; io sono aspettata, e mi basta essermi sfogata un poco così ritta ritta. Avete voi detto quelle messe della Nostra Donna?

Fra. Madonna sì.

Don. Toglietene ora questo fiorino, e direte due mesi ogni lunedì la messa de' morti per l'anima del mio marito. E ancora che fusse un omaccio, pure le carni tirano; io non posso far ch'io non mi risenta, quando io me ne ricordo. Ma credete voi chè è sia in purgatorio?

Fra. Senza dubbio.

Don. Io non sô già cotesto. Voi sapete pure quello che mi faceva qualchè volta. Oh quanto me ne dolsi io con esso voi! Io mi discostava quanto io poteva, ma egli era così importuno! Uh nostro Signore!

Fra. Non dubitate, la clemenza di Dio è grande; sennon manca a l'uomo la voglia, non gli manca mai il tempo a pentirsi.

Don. Credete voi ch'il Turco passi questo anno in Italia?

Fra. Se voi non fate lemosine, sì.

Don. Naffè, Dio ci ajuti. Con queste diavolerie io ho una gran paura di quello impalare." *Att.* 3. *Sc.* 3. *Fra. Timoteo e una Donna.*

In both these extracts I have abandoned Mons^{r}. Tenhove, and nearly followed Machiavel.

dragola; though the Clizia, taken from a Greek comedy of Diphilus, or the Casina of Plautus (*e*),

> "Quæ cum primum acta est, vicit omnes fabulas,"

has some merit.—"Il Segretario," "le Maschere, and "la "Sporta," are not in the collection of his works.

Leo had also two favourite Poets in his Court, Fausto Madalena

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(*e*) "Scriba quem nôsti Florentinus comœdiam e Latinâ bonâ, Hetruscam fecit, meo judicio, non malam. Clitia siquidem illius eadem est quæ Plauti Casina; ex qua nonnulla interpres fidissimus penè ad verbum reddidit, quædam correxit cum arte, multa felicissimè imitatus est, aliqua verò aut imprudenter aut perversè; velut illa Olympionis villici ad stalinonem herum:

Inimica est tua uxor mihi, inimicus filius,
Inimici familiares.—STAL. Quid id refert tuâ?
Unus tibi hic dum propitius sit Jupiter,
Tu istos minutos cave Deos flocci feceris.
OLYMP. Nugæ sunt istæ magnæ; quasi tu nescias
Repente ut emoriantur humani Joves.
Sed tandem si tu Jupiter sis emortuus,
Cum ad Deos minores redierit regnum tuum,
Quis mihi subveniet tergo aut capiti, aut cruribus?

Casina, Act 2. *Scen.* 5.

Quæ sic Tuscus effinxit Scenâ Sextâ Actus tertii, ubi Pyrrhus hunc cum Nichomacho Sermonem habet:

NIC. Ch' importa à te? Stà ben con Christo, et fatti beffe de' Santi.
PYR. Si, ma se voi morissi, e Santi mi trattereb bono assai male?
NIC. Non dubitare, io ti faro tal parte che i Santi ti potranno dar poca briga, &c. Hæc quod ad elegantiam, multo inferiora snnt Plautinis; indigna vero homine Christiano, qui sanctiores musas colit, et in ludicris quoque meminisse debet severitatis." *Balzac. Epist. Select. p.* 202, 203.

Ariosto.

Madalena (*f*) of Rome, and Gui Postumo (*g*) de Pesara, but its brightest ornament was Ariosto, the sublime and comic Ariosto. Having spoken in one of his Capitoli of Leo's patronage of letters, he acknowledges that he had experienced himself the truth of what he advanced, and that when he went to pay his reverence to him, and kiss the Slipper, he perceived Leo recollected him, and that he graciously bent from his throne, took his hand between his own, and saluted him on both cheeks with a holy kiss (*h*).—Were Ariosto to revisit the earth where is the person of taste and sensibility that would not receive him in the same manner, and pardon his extravagancies on account of his numberless beauties?

Ariosto's distinguished reception by Leo gave his friends too sanguine expectations of seeing him immediately a Cardinal; but, far from flattering himself with such idle hopes, he addressed to them the following Apologue: " During

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(*f*) " Georgii Trapezuntii neptis Fausto Madalenæ Romano, poëtæ lepido, collocata est. Hic multa de Georgii prosoceri doctrinâ et litium acerbitate narrare solebat, cum Leoni ab amœnitate ingenii gratissimus floreret." *Paul. Iov.*

(*g*) " Guido Posthumus, Pisaurensis, lepido et comi argutoque ingenio poëta, in aulâ Leonis conspicuus fuit. Patebat enim ea liberaliter, meridianis præsertim horis, quum citharædi cessarent, omnibus eruditæ suavitatis oblectamentis." *Paul. Iov.*

(*h*) " Testimonio son io di quel che scrivo,
Ch'io non lo ritrovai, quando che il piede,
Gli baciai prima, de memoria privo:
Piegossi a me dalla beata sede,
La mano, e poi le gote ambo mi prese,
E il santo bacio in amendue mi diede."

"During a certain summer the heat and drought were "so great, that people began to think that Phaeton had "tumbled a second time from the sky. Fountains, pools, "rivers, were dried up, and all the bridges were useless. "The earth was burnt up, and its inhabitants dying of "thirst. A rich shepherd, whose numerous flocks co- "vered the neighbouring plain, saw a benevolent Genius "in his sleep, who told him he might find water by dig- "ging in a valley that he pointed out. As soon as the "shepherd awoke he provided himself with spades and "shovels, mustered his wife, his children, and his fa- "mily, and set out for the place. He soon found the "water which had been promised him, but having only "one single little pitcher, he told his companions that "they must not be surprised if he drank first himself; "that as soon as he had satisfied his thirst his wife and "children should do the same, and afterwards the rest of "them in rotation, with a preference to those who had "assisted him in digging for the water. When they had "all drank the cattle were then to have their share, and "those that were most useful were to be first admitted "to the well. The arrangement being made, the family "drank in their turn, and for fear of being the last each "boasted of his services. A beautiful little roe-buck, "that had long been the delight of its master, shook its "head, and said, 'Poor little roe-buck, thou art no re- "lation of thy master, thou hast not been able to assist "him in digging the well, and thou art good for nothing.

" Before thy turn of drinking comes, thou wilt have expired with thirst. Die then, or go look for water to " satisfy thyself elsewhere.'——Believe me, my good " friends, his Holiness thinks of nothing less than me, " who can be of no use to his most humble servants. His " relations, who are very numerous, must drink before " me, next those who have contributed to elect him Pope, " and afterwards those who have expelled the Gonfalonier Soderini, and restored the Medici.—Nothing " certainly can be more just; and if poor little Ariosto is " to wait till all these honest persons, who are very dry, " have satisfied themselves, the well must be either exhausted before his turn arrives, or he will be dead of " thirst.—Let us drink elsewhere, and bid adieu to these " vain expectations (*a*)."

Leo

(*a*) " Una stagion fù già sì il terreno
Arse, ch'el Sol di novo a Faetonte,
De' suoi corsier parea aver' dat'il freno :
Secco ogni pozzo, secco ogni fonte,
I rivi i stagni e i fiumi più famosi,
Tutti passar si potean senza ponte.
In quel tempo d'armenti e di lanosi,
Greggi non so s'io dica ricco o grave
Era un pastor frà gli altri bisognosi,
Et ebbe lume e ispirazion di core,
Ch'indi lontano troveria nel fondo,
Di certa valle il desiato umore,
Con moglie e figli e con ciò ch'avea al mondo
Là si condusse e con gli ordigni suoi :
L'ac que trovò, ne molto andò profondo,

Leo unbended often, but his pleasures with his Poets as often degenerated into mere buffooneries. His famous Querno

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E non avendo con che attinger poi,
Se non un vase picciolo e angusto,
Disse, che mio sia'l primo non v'annoi,
Di mogliema il secondo, e'l terzo e quinto,
Che sia de figli e'l quarto e fin che cessi,
L'ardente sete ond'è ciascuno adusto;
Gli altri vuò ad un' ad un' che sian concessi,
Secondo le fatiche agli famigli,
Che meco in opra a' far' il pozzo ò messi;
Poi fù ciascuna bestia si consigli,
Chè di quelle ch'a perderle è più danno,
Innanzi all' altre la cura si pigli.
Con questa legge un dopo l'altro vanno,
A bere, e per non essere i sezzai,
Tutti più grandi i lor meriti fanno.
Questo una gaza che già amata assai,
Fù dal padrone e in delizie avuta,
Vedendo e ascoltando, gridò Guai?
Io non gli son parente nè venuta,
A far'il pozzo nè di più guadagno,
Gli son per esser mai ch'io gli sia suta,
Veggio che dietro a gli altri mi rimagno,
Morrò di sete quando non procacci,
Di trovar per uno scampo altro rigagno:
Cugin con questo esempio vuò che spacci,
Quei che credon ch'el papa porr' inanzi,
Mi debba a Neri a Vanni a Lotti e a Bacci;
Li nepoti e i parenti che son tanti,
Prim' anno a ber, poi quei che l'ajutaro,
A vestirsi'l più bel di tutti i manti,
Bevuto ch'abbian questi, gli fia caro,
Che bevan quei che contra il Soderino,
Per tornarlo in Firenze si levaro.
L'un dice, io fui con Pietro in Casentino,
E d'esser preso e morto a rischio venni,
Io gli prestai denar', grida Brandino;

Querno of Monopoli.

Baraballo di Gaeta.

Querno of Monopoli, crowned by him with laurel, vine leaves, and cabbage, and promoted to the dignity of Arch-Poet, was a doggrel versifier, who attended when he dined, at an humble distance in one of the windows, and devoured very greedily what was sent him from the table. He was supplied with wine in plenty on the condition of producing extempore verses on the subject that was given him (*b*), and when they were not approved his wine was lowered with water.—Baraballo di Gaeta (*c*) was

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Dice un altro, a mie spese il frate tenni,
  Un anno, e lo rimessi in veste ed in arme,
  Di cavallo e d'argento lo sovvenni.
Se fin che tutti beano aspetto a trarme,
  La volontà di bere, o me di sete,
  O secco il pozzo d'acqua veder parme;
Meglio è starmi 'n la solita quiete."

(*b*) One day the Arch-Poet was a little out of humour, and observed, he had too much work upon his hands:

"Archipoëta facit versus pro mille poëtis,"

Leo added the Pentameter,

"Et pro mille aliis Archipoëta BIBIT,"

The BIBIT restored his temper, and the

"Porrige, quod dictet mihi carmina docta Falernum,"

instantaneously followed. "No," replied Leo,

"Debilitant nimium vina Falerna PEDES."

The pun on the word PEDES escaped Mons^{r}. Tenhove, who had only the idea of the gout.

(*c*) "Effundebat insulsissimos versus ab omni vocum, ac numerorum enormitate ridendos." *Paul. Iov.*

"Baraballo era Gaetano, e perciò era detto anchè l'Abate di Gaëta, ed era poëta volgare, è cattivo. ——— Gli fù preparato il trionfo in Campidoglio, ed egli si

was nearly such another versifier as Querno, with the exception that he wrote in the Italian language.—An elephant (*d*) from Malabar had been presented to the Pope by Emanuel, King of Portugal, on which this ridiculous follower of the Muses was mounted in triumph on its entrance into Rome.—Alarmed at the music, and shouts of the crowd, the elephant grew riotous, and the poor Poet was tumbled to the ground.—Such amusements are barely excusable in the lower ranks of life; with the solemn and sublime duties of the Vicegerent of Omnipotence they were utterly inconsistent!

Andrea Maro, the celebrated Improvisatore.

The celebrated Improvisatore Andrea Maro of Bresse, was infinitely superior to these buffoons, and his uncommon talents did not escape Leo's notice. On a public entertainment where all the Catholic Envoys were assembled, he was directed to exercise himself on the harmony amongst the Christian Powers, and their happy union against the common enemy. The production was universally

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partì dal Vaticano montato sopra un elefante, e il Papa stette a una finestra a vederlo montare. ——— La funzione non si fece altrimenti, perchè l'elefante spaurito da' gridi del popolo, e dal suono de tamburi, vicino a ponte lo gettò per terra, e dalla caduta rimase tanto mal trattato, che non potette portarsi al campidoglio. Questa buffonata fù invenzione del Card. Bibbiena." *Bottari.*

(*d*) The picture of this animal was taken, and the following lines were added to it:

> "Invidit Latii sedem mihi Parca beati,
> Nec passa est ternos domino famularier annos.
> Ah quæ sors rapuit naturæ debita nostræ
> Tempora, vos Superi magno accumulate LEONI!"

versally applauded, and extended to a great length.—A few of the first words are all that remain of it:

> " Infelix Europa diu quassata tumultu,
> Bellorum,"

though the Pope was so much satisfied with it as to present Maro with a rich Abbey.—Paulus Iovius, an eye-witness, has described the Improvisatore, his enthusiasm and poetical inspiration, in the following manner: " Fidibus " et cantu musas evocat, et cum semel conjectam in nu-" meros mentem alacriore spiritu inflaverit, tantâ vi in " torrentis morem citatus fertur, ut fortuita et subitaneis " tractibus ducta, multum ante provisa et meditata car-" mina videantur. Canenti defixi exardent oculi, sudores " manant, frontis venæ contumescunt, et, quod mirum " est, eruditæ autres tanquam alienæ et intentæ omnem " impetum profluentium numerorum exactissimâ ratione " moderantur."

What a strange composition was Leo the Xth!—Is there a taste more unworthy of a rational mind and a feeling heart than amusement derived from a view of human imbecility? Yet it was one of Leo's pleasures. Vile flatterers were perpetually in quest of the wretched beings whose weakness or insanity had at intervals some sprightliness or drollery, and they collected them from all parts to make their court to him.—A person had long solicited in vain an audience of Leo, and he counterfeited the fool at last to obtain the interview. He waited on the chamberlain and told him in a very pompous and ridiculous manner and with many absurd gestures, he had a most extraordinary poem to offer to his Holiness, and that the world had never yet seen any thing equal to it. The courtier flew like lightning and informed his master there was in the anti-chamber a greater idiot than usual. "Let him enter," replied the Pontiff, and when the supposed fool was introduced, both Leo and his chamberlain discovered they had been outwitted and were the dupes (*e*).

A Protestant author has embellished this story, and supposed the person in question, a worthy Ecclesiastic and an old friend of Leo, to have addressed him in the following terms.

" Be

(*e*) " Hominum ridiculè insanientium genere non minimum delectabatur Leo X, cujus gnathones, quos circa se habebat, dabant operam ut eos, quibus levis mens esset, ad insaniam adigerent, seque eos esse qui non essent, arbitrarentur, in quo mirabiliter lusus est a quodam, cui petenti aditum, non dabat. Qui cum multos dies expectasset, atque omnes ad Pontificem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos interclusosque videret, seducto pontificii cubiculi Præfecto, carmina se Leoni velle tradere significat, quibus lectis obstupesceret, ad incredibilem animi admirationem efferretur; quo ille audito, ventis atque avibus ocyjus, advolavit in Leonis cubiculum, atque hilaritate lætitiâque redundans, invenimus, inquit, perfectæ insaniæ hominem, qui tibi voluptati maximæ erit. At ille sine morâ intromissus, ex illis se integumentis simulationis evolvit, causam cur insaniam simulasset aperuit, negotium quod volebat exposuit, itaque ille derididiculo illos habuit, quibus ludendus tradebatur." *Janus Nicius Erythræus.*

"Be not surprised, Holy Father, that instead of an "idiot, from whom you promised yourself some entertainment, you find an old friend, who has taken this "method to procure an audience and acquaint you with "your indiscretion. Is there a possibility of convincing "you more effectually of the indecent manner, in which "you treat persons in many respects your equals, than "the expedient to which I have been reduced to get an "interview? To be pleased with folly in others is the "height of folly, and notwithstanding the respect I owe "your Holiness, I must say, to rejoice at the ruins of human reason is an insult to human understanding. Your "Holiness, blessed with superior talents, has too much "sense to believe you can only shine in such company. "—Consider the respect you owe yourself, and get rid "of your Querno and Baraballo, on whom you have showered down your bounties, and distribute your favours "to persons of real merit and character. If your Holiness is not concerned in the interest of Religion and "virtue, I beseech you to have some regard for your "own personal safety. Common prudence will not admit of your carrying your jokes too far.—When the "people are once accustomed to see a Pope so very gay, "they may laugh in their turn at many things they have "hitherto respected. Even your celebration of Mass "'in Pontificalibus' may not escape their notice, and "your changing first one dress and then another as certain

"tain passages occur, receiving your Crosier in the midst "of one prayer, and putting on your slippers or your "mitre in another, may appear a little comic. Perhaps "they may go so far as to imagine that one head is as "wise as another, and that the Tonsure does not alone "communicate virtue or abilities. The weakest part of "the community may be of opinion that a bare-footed "Carmelite stands no better chance for Heaven from his "mortifications, and even the Red Hat and Mantle may "fall into contempt. They may then tell us that our only power is founded on morality and virtue, and that "if we mean to preserve it, we should be particularly attentive to the decency and propriety of our conduct."

We have just seen Leo indulging in society from which he could derive no rational entertainment, and Leo of all other persons had the least reason to have recourse to such miserable expedients.—With what great men was he not surrounded!—Many of them have been already mentioned, and as a number of these other illustrious ornaments of his Court survived him, they will be taken notice of hereafter.

Annibale Caro

To judge of the merit of Annibale Caro's Æneid, we should not bring it into comparison with the Æneid of Virgil, which overpowers every thing. We ought rather to consider it as an original itself, and the excellence of the Italian poem will be then allowed without any hesitation (*a*). This illustrious Knight of Malta substituted, however, a glittering tinsel for the pure gold of Virgil, and spread it over a new and vast surface. To translate a poem in exactly the same number of verses discovers little taste, but every licence ought to have its bounds, and many of the six thousand additional lines of Annibale Caro might be spared without injury to the remainder.

Whether Annibale Caro was the author of any original work is not now known.—In his letters indeed a few literary and historical anecdotes are to be found, yet they are such as may be met with in many other authors. His letters have been very highly spoken of, and are still considered as models of perfection.—A Cisalpine Reader, with little knowledge of Italian, would be greatly embarrassed to discover where this perfection lies, and to understand it, he must penetrate very far into the niceties of the language. It consists wholly in the delicacy of the style, and Annibale Caro, who was born in the district of Ancona, was the only foreigner that the Tuscans admit to have possessed the "Flower of Urbanity" of which they are so jealous.—Nothing attracted so much the attention of Italy, and that of Europe so little, as An-

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(*a*) "Questa traduzione, considerata astratta dall' originale a un sapore deliziosissimo d'originale ella stessa." *Martinelli.*

Annibale Caro's long disputes with Lodovico Castelvetro. The famous Canzona in honour of Francis the Ist, beginning with the

"Venite all' ombra de gran Gigli d' oro,"

was severely criticised by this Zoilus of Modena, and it occasioned a literary quarrel, in which every genius of the day took part.—A detail of this scandalous portion of local history has swollen under the hands of a writer of the country into a ponderous folio, and it finishes almost with a duel.—The Florentine prose writers are extremely minute and prolix.—Paulus Iovius (*b*) the historian, Bishop of Como and afterwards of Nocera, is an agreeable writer, but he is not always to be trusted, and of all historians he is the most prejudiced and venal. The account of his own times in Latin has elegance and purity, though it is written with such partiality as to make us doubt of every step that we advance without some other authority to rest on. His talents were in fact exposed to sale, and it is commonly said of him, that he had a pen of gold to blazon the characters of persons who paid him well, and one of iron to tear those to pieces when he had received no presents, or had taken a

Paulus Iovius —Criticiſm on his works.

(*b*) Gianotti has severely censured this Prelate. "Delle istorie del Giovio mi pare che si ragioni, come di cosa scritta per buffoneria; e per dire il vero, la istoria del Guicciardino gli ha dato una gran bastonata. ——— Sono manifeste le sue bugie." *Lett. di Donato Giannotti al Varchi, P.* 4. *Pros. Fior.*

a dislike.—Francis the Ist settled on him a pension, and the French nation was afterwards as much applauded as it had been previously lampooned.—It is truly lamentable to see genius submit to such indignity, and sacrifice in this manner its reputation and its glory to sordid interest! To the Medici in particular this modern Velleius Paterculus seems to have prostituted his golden pen, and the Count Algarotti alludes to it in speaking of him by the expression "Divotissimo alle Palle," which his first translator misunderstood. The Torteaux or Golden Balls form a part of the arms of the House of Medici, and as often as a revolution happened in Florence, its friends cried out, "Palle, Palle,"—"Success to the Golden Balls!"

Balthazar Castiglione.

Count Balthazar Castiglione, in his treatise of the "Perfect Courtier," proposed for his model one of the Medici family nearly related to Leo the Xth. Castiglione had a different idea of the character to that of the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, who defined it by the "sans Honeur et Humeur,"—"without Honour "and without Humour."—Castiglione's courtier was an accomplished personage, in whom merit and politeness were equally apparent.—The modern attendant upon courts might study Castiglione to advantage, and extract some useful precepts from the mass, which is now of no farther use. What renders the work still interesting is the living picture of the manners of the little court of Urbino, which for politeness and brilliancy was without an equal.—The Purists of "Della Crusca," in doing justice to the matter of this work, have found fault with the style, which pleases in spite of its prolixity.—But Castiglione was desirous of doing in prose what Dante had done before him in verse, and of writing in Italian, when the Italian was not the fashion.

If Tuscany is now quitted for a little while, it is but for the purpose of making a few observations on the great men in Germany and France, cotemporaries of Leo the Xth and immediately connected with him.—

Erasmus.

Erasmus, the great Erasmus stands evidently at their head.—His edition of the works of St. Jerome, which cost him, as he declares, more pains than they had occasioned the author (*c*), was dedicated to Leo, and also his edition of his Greek and Latin Testaments. In the collection of his letters the correspondence between him and Leo is to be found, and he seems unfortunately to have been more attached to Leo's fortune and station than to his person. We see with regret the annihilation of every independent sentiment, with which this in other respects Free spirit approached the Roman Pontiff. "Who can "be at his ease," he asks, "in addressing an humble "epistle to one who surpasses as much other men as "they

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(*c*) "Non verebor illud, Sancte Pater, vel jurejurando confirmare, minoris ipsi Hieronymo constitisse, suas scripsisse lucubrationes, quam nobis restituisse et illustrasse."

"they are superior to the brute creation—who eclipses "us by the splendour of his majesty—who is, as it were "of a different nature, and a species of a present and visible divinity (*d*)."—Leo's favours had made such an impression on Erasmus that he might have managed him as he pleased. He contented himself with leaving him to follow his own inclinations, and neither interrupted him in his studies or attempted to influence him in his writings.—When Erasmus afterwards was oppressed by envy, and suffered from jealousy, he regretted he had not profited of Leo's kindness, and turned his friendship to more account (*e*).

Budæus.

The learning of Budæus was immense, and he was the first native of France, who was profoundly versed in the Greek language. By his unwearied industry he reduced the chaos of ancient learning respecting weights, measures, and coins into order (*f*), and many other parts of it were

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(*d*) "Quis non metuat eum compellare litteris, qui quantò cæteri mortales pecudibus antecellunt, tantò ipse mortales universos majestate superat, et inter homines prorsus cæleste quoddam agit numen? ——— Optimo jure sibi gratulatur Orbis Christianus talem Leonem, in cujus ore reperit mundus plus quam melleam dulcedinem."

(*e*) "Leonis X propensus in me favor, quo utinam fuissem dexterius usus!"

(*f*) "Divinum opus DE ASSE. Librarum, sestertium, talentorum, totiusque rei nummariæ, ponderum, mensurarum, numeri, modi, vocabula Græca juxta ac Romana propter vetustatem obsoleverant. Hermolaus, Politianus et alii complures viri ingenio et doctrinâ præstantissimi rem tantam infeliciter adorti, propter obscuri-

were illustrated with the same success. Erasmus, notwithstanding the differences between them, had a high opinion of his talents, and often said the French would be insufferably vain, if they knew the value of the treasure (*g*) they possessed.—During the lives of these two cotemporary scholars, they enjoyed an equal share of reputation, posterity has given the preference to Erasmus, from his talents and his services to mankind.—Leo's attachment to men of letters was so well known, that when Francis the Ist had an extraordinary point to carry with the See of Rome, he sent Budæus as his Minister, from the certainty that he was most likely to succeed with the Roman Pontiff.

John Reuchelin.

The celebrated John Reuchelin, who set out in life as a Fifer in the service of the Margrave of Baden, was a genius of the first rank, and a person generally esteemed in an age so full of great men.—Lorenzo de' Medici had shewn him every attention, and Reuchelin dedicated to Leo his Son his two books "De Verbo mirifico," and "De Cabalæ scientiæ placitis."—His greatest merit consisted in the restoration of Hebrew Literature, which had been totally neglected or forgotten by the Christians since the days of St. Jerome.

Not

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tatem tam honesto conatu destiterant: unus ad extremum huic parti ægrotæ ac propè desideratæ reperit medicinam." *Vita Budæi per L. Regium.*

(*g*) "O felicem Galliam! quas cristas tolleret, si suas opes ipsa nosset!" *De Budæo.*

Not a single publication has thrown such light on the ignorance and stupidity of Monks and Friars as the "Letters of Obscure Persons," composed on the subject of Reuchelin's disputes with the Monks of Cologne, who, with the exception of the Old Testament, had condemned all the Jewish works, and even their Treatises on Grammar, Physic, and History, to the flames.—These facetious letters were attributed to Reuchelin, but though he had some humour, and had wittily dissected the Religious in one of his Comedies, they came from a German of the name of Hutten, who composed most of them and procured the rest from his friends.—The festivity of the Macaronic Latin, in which they are written, loses itself in a translation, and to feel its force we must have recourse to the work itself.—On its first appearance every Convent was in immediate fermentation.—Cordeliers, Jacobins, Dominicans, Grey, Black, and White Friars, all sallied forth;—they wept—they caballed—and stated their grievances to the Holy Father, with prayers and supplications for redress.—Leo had laughed immoderately in private—in public he had a line to follow from which he could not deviate with propriety, and he directed the sale of the work to be stopped, though the mischief was already done. Hutten also eluded the effect of the suppression by the publication of a Supplement more caustic and severe, and the Monks, finding the wits against them, chewed the bit in secret, and were reduced to silence.—Simplicity and boldness distinguish these letters, and their poignancy is little short of that of Rabelais.

Cataneo Diacetto.

If Leo's reigning taste led him to the encouragement of Poetry and the "Belles Lettres," he did not neglect the Philosophers, or Philosophy, such as it was in his time.—Francesco Cataneo Diacetto, a celebrated disciple of Marsilio Ficino, was raised by his influence to the dignity of Gonfalonier of Florence.—Cataneo had profited so very happily of the lectures of his great master as to be one of the first Platonicians of his day.—We have a treatise by him on Platonic Love, but his treatise on "the Beautiful" is a Commentary on an obscure passage of the Grecian Philosopher.—To attempt an explanation of an obscure subject in still obscurer terms is what Boileau has wittily called "a double Gallimatias."—Yet Marsilio Ficino had conceived such an esteem for his disciple as to believe sincerely Providence had created him for the express purpose of supplying his place.

Augustus Nyphus.

Augustus Nyphus, the Calabrian, and the most celebrated Peripatetician of the age, was in such favour with Leo that he allowed him the privilege of adding to his arms those of the Medici family, and even to take its name. He was promoted likewise to the rank of a Palatine Count, a title on which the first personages in the Eastern and Western Empires once prided themselves. It was a mark of honour even in the sixteenth century, though it has since lost its dignity from being bestowed indiscriminately on almost every one that wishes for it.—There is a collection of the philosophical works of Nyphus, and the ingenuity and subtlety of the author are very visible, however we may be disposed to doubt or contradict his opinions.—In his treatise on Love, and the Beautiful, for he was desirous of exercising his abilities on the same subjects with Diacetto, he enters with so much imprudence or philosophical simplicity, into points so very indelicate, that it is astonishing a treatise of the kind should have been dedicated to a Female, and a Princess of the Colonna Family.—This Philosopher was supposed to have imbibed very strongly the singular and impious tenets of Averroes. The supposition, however, which appears well founded, did not deprive him of Leo's friendship or patronage.—He continued his regard for him, though he conceived it to be his duty to proscribe his sentiments, and to stop their progress by a bull, published during the Lateran Council in 1513, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the teaching the human soul was mortal, and ended with the life of man (*a*).

The

(*a*) " Cum diebus nostris zizaniæ seminator nonnullos perniciosissimos errores in agro Domini seminare, sit ausus, de naturâ præsertim animæ rationalis, quod videlicet mortalis sit, aut unica in cunctis hominibus, et nonnulli temerè philosophantes, secundum saltem Philosophiam verum esse asseverant: contra hoc approbante sacro Concilio, damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes, animam intellectivam mortalem esse, aut unicam in cunctis hominibus; aut hoc in dubium vertentes: cum illa non solum verè per se et essentialiter humani corporis forma existat, verum immortalis, et pro corporum, quibus infunditur, multitudine singulariter multiplicabilis, et multiplicata, et multiplicanda sit. Cumque verum vero minimè contradicat, omnem assertionem veritati illuminatæ contrariam omnino falsam esse definimus, et ut aliter dogmatizare non liceat, districtius jubemus. Omnesque hujusmodi erroris adstric-

The works of Averroes had been long in vogue throughout Italy, and his monstrous absurdities and errors had spread from one person to another, and corrupted the principal cities, where letters were the most cultivated.

The leading dogma of this famous Arabian Philosopher was the admission only of one intelligence, that animated, according to his system, every individual of the human race, and supplied the functions of a reasonable soul.—Averroes is generally acknowledged as the author of this opinion, though it is very clear that he only expanded the ancient and absurd doctrine which Virgil delivered with all the grace of the Mantuan Muse:

> "Principio cælum et terras camposque liquentes,
> Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
> Spiritus

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tionibus inhærentes, velut damnatissimas hæreses seminantes per omnia, ut detestabiles et abominabiles Hæreticos et infideles, catholicam fidem labefactantes, vitandos et puniendos fore decrevimus. Insuper omnibus et singulis Philosophis in Universitatibus studiorum generalium, et alibi publicè legentibus districtè præcipiendo mandamus, ut cum Philosophorum principia aut conclusiones, in quibus a recta fide deviare noscuntur, auditoribus suis legerint, seu explicaverint, quale hoc de animæ mortalitate aut unitate, et mundi æternitate, ac alia hujusmodi, teneantur ejusdem veritatem religionis christianæ omni conatu manifestam facere; et persuadendo pro posse docere, ac omni studio Philosophorum argumenta pro viribus excludere ac resolvere. Ordinamus etiam, ne quis in sacris ordinibus constitutus philosophiæ aut poëseos studiis ultra quinquennium post grammaticam et dialecticam, sine aliquo studio theologiæ aut juris pontificii incumbat. Datum Romæ in publicâ sessione in Lateranensi S. S. Basilicâ solemniter celebratâ A°. 1513, 14 Kal. Jan. Pont. nostri A°. 1°."

> Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet (*b*)."

Averroism is in fact a qualified species of Spinosism, which excludes the morality of actions, the existence of the soul in a state of separation from the body, and the rewards and punishments of a future life, and consequently it cannot agree with any Religion whatever.—Stretching out on a false principle, the Arabian philosopher reasoned from it as if it had been an axiom that could not be disputed, and he has ridiculed every Religion without professing any.—Judaism was, with him, a Religion of obstinate and rebellious children—Mahometanism that of Beasts and Swine—and he profanely added, that of the Christians was of all the most senseless and absurd, as they swallowed their Deity (*c*).—It was in the University of Padua that Averroism prevailed the most, or rather reigned triumphantly.—Vernius, the preceptor of Nyphus, published a work towards the opening of the century, in

Vernius.

(*b*) *Publii Virgilii Æneid. lib.* 6. 724—727.

(*c*) The observation affects only the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Church of Rome, which has always exposed it to the sneer of the Infidel, and the more formidable objection of the Rational Believer.—*Ed. Albertinus*, "*de Eucharistia*," (*lib.* 3. 972), tells us, that before the twelfth century the words "*μεταβολης, μεταληψις, μεταρρυθμησις, μετασκευασμος, μεταστοιχειωσις*," were unknown, and it was the Lateran Council in 1215, under Innocent the IIId, that established the belief of the real presence in the Lord's Supper.—I am indebted for this information to a Treatise of the learned Mons^{r}. Dutens, who has given another mortal blow, if another mortal blow was necessary, to this tenet in his *Œuvres Melées*, (*seconde Partie*, *chap.* 5. 116), just published.

in which he had so beautifully described the system of the Arab, and supported it with such a plausibility that great part of Italy is said to have been seduced by it.—It is at least certain that the Porcii, the Achillini, and Pomponaci, and almost the whole numerous sect of Peripateticians, had drank freely of the poison.—At this day it is scarcely possible to conceive how a body of able men could adopt such extravagant opinions, and be dazzled or deluded by writings in a barbarous style, and such as at present would be disgustful.—How happy for the world would it be if Christianity had not been attacked in our days by more dangerous enemies, and more seductive authors!——Gaiety and galantry were as conspicuous in the character of Nyphus, as his ingenuity, his learning, and acuteness.—We may collect this trait from the Latin verses of one of his cotemporaries:

"Quid Nyphus an non melleus,
Perplexa suetus inter enthymemata
Et syllogismos frigidos,
Narrare suaves Atticasque fabulas,
Multumque risum spargere?
At quam venustum hoc, septuagenarium
Quod undulatis passibus,
Et curioso flexuosoque capite,
Saltare coram cerneres,
Modo Dorium, modo Phrygium, vel Lydium,
Amore saucium gravi?
Tractare sic philosophiam, arbitror
Summi fuisse Philosophi."

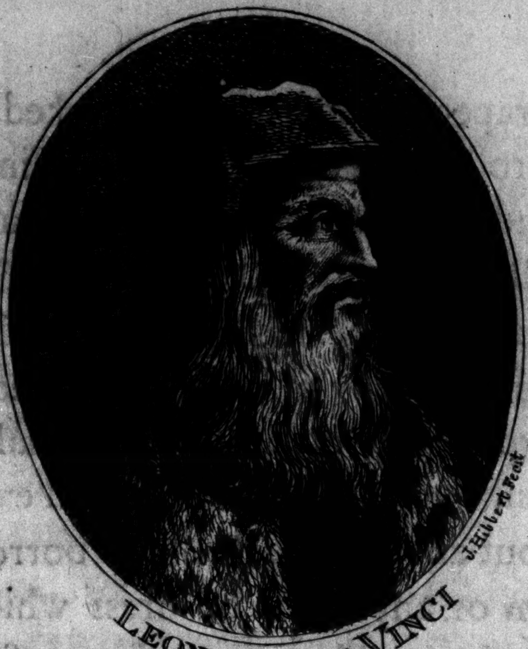
Is it probable that Nyphus at his time of life was gay and gallant without being ridiculous and exposing himself?—Every thing in the world has two faces, and the Bishop of Como has formed a very different opinion of the hoary Philosopher:—"Susceptis liberis et senescente "uxore, septuagenarius senex, puellæ citra libidinem "impotenti amore correptus est usque ad insaniam, ita "ut plerique Philosophum senem atque podagricum ad "tibiæ modos saltantem, miserabili cum pudore con-"spexerint."

The Mathematical Sciences were little attended to or cultivated in this brilliant Pontificate, and there are only the traces of a single Geometrician (*c*) to be discovered, who was also an universal genius.—Geometry not being the principal foundation of his fame, the tribute due to his vast talents will be delayed for a few pages.—He deserved immortality, and he has found it!

(*c*) Leonardo da Vinci.

CHAP. VIII.

PROGRESS of Painting—Rafaello—Criticism on his Style—His School of Athens—His Transfiguration—Criticism on Mons^r. Falconnet—F. Sebastiano del Piombo—Giulio Romano—Perrino del Vaga—Rafaello del Colle—Penni—Polidoro Carvaggi—Giovanni da Udine—Leonardo da Vinci—His Holy Supper—F. Bartolomeo della Porta—Pietro di Cosimo—Andrea del Sarto Architecture—Bramante—Lazzare d'Urbino—Baltassare Perucci—Sansovino—Sculpture—Rustici—Engraving—Marco Antonio—Ugo di Carpi—Piero Maria da Peschia—Michelino—Giovanni da Castel—Valerio—Vincentino—Matteo dal Massaro—Domenico di Polo—Ludovico Anichini—Alessandro Cesare—Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo the Xth—His Death and Character—Lucrezia de' Medici—Cardinal Salviati—Bernardo Salviati—Maddalena de' Medici—Contesina de' Medici.



LEONARDO DA VINCI

J. Hibbert Fecit

CHAP. VIII.

Progress of Painting.

Rafaello—Criticism on his Style.

WHILST Science, Letters, and the ancient Philosophy flourished under the shelter of Leo's patronage, he had the satisfaction to see the Arts, those other children of Genius, arrive at the summit of glory, and modern Italy rival ancient Greece.—Under his enlightened eyes, Rafaello the sovereign of Painters (*a*) animated the canvass with his heavenly figures.—Grace more enchanting than beauty fell from his pencil.—Purity of design, grandeur of ideas, simplicity in the characters of his heads, elegance of form, and great judgment in the choice of his figures,

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(*a*) "Mostrò Raffaële nel corso de suoi pochi anni, che qualche bellezza a gli stessi Grechi aggiugner si potes." *Lettera di Giampier Zannotti.*

figures, his draperies, and groups marked in a wonderful manner the productions of his own sublime abilities assisted by a study of the most exquisite beauties of nature. —Yet with all these eminent advantages Rafaello is not to be considered as a perfect painter, such as the world has never seen and may never see.—Some of his rivals have even surpassed him in a few essential parts of their art.—His ingenious style of drapery and expression of the "Nud" without affectation, was not borrowed from any known custom or any mode of dress which belonged to any distinct nation. The great effects of the clear obscure, and a knowledge of the playfulness of light seem to have been too much neglected by him, and he does not appear to have penetrated sufficiently into that style of Forward colouring which renders every object exact and sensible, and gives a complete imitation of them. His colouring was also careless, but in all probability, though he did not always attend to it, he was fully master of it, as an excellent judge has spoken in raptures of one of his pictures, which was equal to the most finished piece of the Venetian School (*b*).—On the whole his beauties will rather astonish the connoisseur than captivate a common observer.

Rafaello's

(*b*) "Tra i molti ritratti di Raffaële fatti di sua mano, il più bello è quello ch'egli fece da se allo specchio per darlo a Bindo Altoviti ——— questo ritratto, per quel che riguarda il colorito, è il più bel quadro, che io abbia veduto di Raffaële, e le tinte non cedono alle più fiere e le più vive di qualsivoglia pittura di Tiziano; e ora si conserva nel palazzo de' Signori Altoviti in Borgo degli Albizi di Firenze."

Bottari.

His School of Athens.

His Transfiguration.

Rafaello's school of Athens or the speech in the Areopagus, has been reckoned in our days as the first model for a grand subject in a noble and scientific style. His last work the Transfiguration " in Montorio," a picture almost as well known as Virgil's Æneid, was carried in procession at his funeral (*c*).

Criticism on Mr. Falconnet.

With all the esteem due to one of the first sculptors (*d*) of the present age, who has employed his long nights and leisure hours at Petersburg in a commentary on the three Books of Pliny, his contemptuous treatment of this masterpiece of art justifies some censure and merits some indignation. As this picture is generally known, he observes, it is only necessary to ask what opinion the Public would now entertain of an artist, who divided his composition in such a manner, that one half of it had no connection with the other, and the principal subject was placed like an episode of no great consequence, and was even difficult to be discovered.—The Apostles, to whom the young Demoniac is brought, are at the bottom of the piece, and they are so occupied with his visit as to be totally unconcerned at and to turn their backs on one of the most extraordinary prodigies though close to them, on a little trifling ascent without any resemblance to the mountain (*e*) of

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(*c*) " La quale opera, nel vedere il corpo morto, e quella viva, faceva scoppiare l'anima di dolore o ognuno." *Vaſari.*

(*d*) Monsr. Falconnet.

(*e*) Ανεβη εις το ΟΡΟΣ. *Evangel. Luc.* c. 9. 28.

of the Evangelist. Two of the disciples may indeed be discovered pointing at the miracle without looking at it, and they suggest the idea of being satiated with transfigurations. Each may be supposed to say to his Brother, "I have seen the Sun very often, let us look at "this little Devil."— Yet Demoniacs were more common than transfigurations.—The honest persons who bring the boy seem not to perceive the adjoining splendour, that ought to have dazzled them, for they are looking up, and they appear to be intent only on their errand. In short, there are two subjects, without connection, and Rafaello in spite of Scripture seems to have been desirous of representing them in the same picture, at the same instant, and in the same point of view. The picture has been called Rafaello's Master-piece.—What are the merits of its title?—Are they in the design?—that is weak and feeble.—Do they consist in the composition?—we may judge at once of its impropriety.—Are they founded in poetical conception?—there is not a corner in which there is not an absurdity or contradiction.—The Apostles are undoubtedly using every effort to expel the demon, but they ought not to have been there, and notwithstanding the uncommon beauty of the bottom of the picture, the inconsistency is still revolting.

The little connection between the two parts of the picture is an observation that has been long made. At the first view it appears specious, though it is but specious,

ous, and nothing is more easy than to defend Rafaello. It would be absurd to suppose the Apostles could have long been inattentive to the miracle of the Transfiguration, or not been wholly taken up with it, but we must recollect that an artist can only represent a single indivisible moment. In that moment the attention of the Disciples was arrested by the howls and frightful convulsions of the Demoniac, and they were eager to relieve him. This is the precise instant chosen by the painter, the objection therefore vanishes, and there is not a single reproach that he deserves.

Mr. Falconnet has omitted to observe three Disciples fallen to the ground in astonishment at the miracle and dazzled by the rays of glory (*f*) with which their Divine Master was surrounded. These three disciples in their attitude upon the ground certainly connect the upper and lower parts of the picture. The Critic proceeds to remark, "that within these last few years the Transfiguration was taken down to be copied in Mosaic, and "many

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(*f*) "Sono in terra postrati Pietro, Jacopo, e Giovanni in varie, e belle attitudini. Chi ha a terra il capo, e chi con fare ombra agli occhi con le mani si difende da' raggi, e dalla immensa luce dello splendore di Cristo." (*Vasari*, *tom.* 3. 83, 84.). Vasari has entered at large into the collection of Rafaello's works, and describes their merit in a very forcible manner: "trema la carne, vedesi lo spirito, battono i sensi alle figure sue e vivacità viva vi si scorge."—The lines on his St. Cæcilia are well known.

"Pingant sola alii, referantque coloribus ora;
Cæciliæ os Raphael, atque animum explicuit."

" many of the figures that appeared so charming at a distance, were discovered on a nearer inspection to be so " badly executed as not to be believed to have been Rafaello's, and that the superior powers forbad the secret " to be revealed." An artist of Mr. Falconnet's abilities could not be ignorant of what all the world knows, that a picture painted to have effect at a certain distance is not to be examined close to the eye, where its very excellencies would be defects. In a great picture, and at a great distance, the fine strokes of a miniature would be both useless and absurd.—The anecdote respecting the superior powers is extraordinary.—Books after books and pamphlets after pamphlets have been written in Italy on the fine arts, and not a syllable has dropped upon the subject. It is not indeed probable, and if these defects had been discovered the laborious and expensive enterprise of copying the picture in Mosaic would have been abandoned, which is only just finished.

From Rafaello's characteristic qualities, which distinguished him from the rest of the profession, he was called the Virgil of Painting, and since his time the first school has been that of Rome. In the celebrated pictures in the Vatican of Attila, the seige of Ostia by the Saracens, King Pepin, and the coronation of Charlemagne, he has represented St. Leo, Leo the IIId, Stephen the IId, and Leo the IVth, under the likeness and features of Leo the Xth.—When Rafaello died, it was said, he was on the point of being made a Cardinal (*f*).— The Red Hat, and even the Pontifical Tiara, if he could have arrived at that dignity, would not have been his brightest crown!

F. Sebastiano del Piombo.

F. Sebastiano del Piombo, a Venetian, had for some time the temerity to attempt to rival Rafaello. His style has more of the Florentine manner than the Venetian. The lucrative employment, from which he had the name of "Piombo," instead of stimulating his genius, had a contrary effect. As he grew rich, he grew indolent or idle, and forgot that the first business of a painter is to paint.

Giulio Romano.

In the works of Giulio Romano, Rafaello's illustrious disciple (*g*), can we sufficiently admire his great correctness, grandeur of composition, sublimity and fire? They have ever formed, and will ever be the delight of the connoisseur!

In

(*g*) "Avendo tanti anno servito la Corte, ed essendo creditore di Leone di buona somma, gli era stato dato indizio, che alla fine della sala, che per lui faceva, in ricompensa delle fatiche, e delle virtù sue, il Papa gli avrebbe dato un cappello rosso, avendo già deliberato di farne un buon numero, e fra essi qualcuno di manco merito, che Raffaello non era." *Vasari, tom.* 3. 87.

(*h*) Giulio Romano was Rafaello's favourite disciple, "il quale sempre amò molto," and not less distinguished by his talents than his moral character. "Fra i molti, anzi infiniti discepoli di Raffaello da Urbino, de' quali la maggior parte riuscirono valenti, niuno ve n' ebbe, che più lo imitasse nella maniera, invenzione, diseg-

Perrino del Vaga—Rafaello del Colle.—Penni.

In Perrino del Vaga and Rafaello del Colle, two Florentines, there is more sweetness than force!—Their countryman Penni surnamed "il Fattore" from his expedition, painted landscapes with great taste and judgment.

Polidoro Carvaggi.

Polidoro Carvaggi, not one of whose pictures is now remaining, had even the reputation of excelling his master in fertility of invention (*i*).—Giovanni da Udine, in the representation of animals, was the first of Rafaello's scholars, and Leo the Xth employed him to paint his scarce and valuable collection.—In digging amongst the ruins of the Baths of Titus some subterranean apartments were discovered, whose walls were ornamented with little chimerical and imaginary figures. Giovanni da Udine,

Giovanni da Udine.

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no, e colorito, di Giulio Romano ——— egli fu dolcissimo nella conversazione, gioviale, affabile, grazioso, e tutto pieno d' ottimi costumi; le quali parti furono cagione ch' egli fu di maniera amato da Raffaello, che se gli fusse stato figliuolo, non più l' arebbe potuto amare. ——————— Fu Giulio di statura nè grande, nè piccolo, più presto compresso, che leggieri di carne, di pel nero, di bella faccia, con occhio nero, e allegro, amorevolissimo, costumato in tutte le sue azioni, parco nel mangiare, e vago di vestire, e vivere onoratamente. ——— Morì Giulio l' anno 1546, il giorno di tutti i Santi, e sopra la sua sepoltura fu posto questo epitaffio:

Romanus moriens secum tres Julius arteis
Abstulit (haud mirum) quatuor unus erat."

Vasari, tom. 3. 324—339.

(*i*) " Le sue pitture sono tutte o quasi tutte perite. ——— Questo eccellentissimo artefice ha nell' invenzione superato la parer di molti Raffaello stesso." *Bottari.*

ne, struck with their beauty, began to copy them (*a*), and as they were found in a kind of Grotto, they were called Grotesque. By repeated experiments he acquired the art of making the stucco, of which they were composed, and adding a number of similar figures from his own imagination, he embellished with them by the Pope's orders several rooms in the Vatican, but of his labours there are no remains (*b*).

A view has been now taken of Rafaello's school.—Titian, the great luminary of Venice, never settled at Rome, though he often visited it during Leo's reign and the succeeding one.—Leo honoured him as he deserved.—Titian's great excellence consists in the harmony of his tints, and his beautiful light and skies, which are above all praise. In his carnations Nature is so exactly copied, that the blood even seems to flow.

> " Les dons sont partagés, la Nature bizare,
> Jusques dans ses faveurs parait encore avare,
> Et lorsqu' elle sourit de ses yeux complaisans,
> Ne verse qu'à demi l'urne de ses présens (*c*)."

The

(*a*) Great part of them were published at Rome under the following title: " Picturæ Antiquæ. Folio Roma, 1751."

(*b*) " Queste grottesche e stucchi, fatte nelle Logge Vaticane sono cotanto guaste, che ne rimane poco più, che i contorni." *Bottari*.

(*c*) La Mierre.

Leonardo da Vinci.

The whole urn was poured out to the last drop on Leonardo da Vinci's cradle.—With the finest and most imposing figure he had the noblest heart.—Naturalist, Geometrician, Botanist, Sculptor, Painter, Musician, Poet, Improvisatore—this favourite of Heaven had all these talents in perfection.—In addition to all these accomplishments, Leonardo da Vinci was an excellent horseman, danced with the greatest elegance, and in the science of arms was particularly excellent. His strength and force were uncommon, and he twisted a horse-shoe as easily as if it had been composed of lead.—Ludovico Sforza, a great judge of merit, and who always acted for the public interest when it was not his own to act otherwise, prevailed on Leonardo da Vinci to settle at Milan, where he placed him at the head of the newly erected Academy of Painting and Sculpture.—Twelve precious volumes of his manuscripts are preserved at Milan (*d*), which are considered

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(*d*) In the Ambrosian Library there is the following inscription :

LEONARDO . VINCI
MANV . ET . INGENIO . CELEBERRIMI
LVCVBRATIONVM . VOLVMINA . XII
HABES . O . CIVIS
GALEAZ . ARCONATVS
INTER . OPTIMATES . TVOS
BONARVM . ARTIVM . CVLTOR . OPTIMVS
REPVDIATIS . REGIO . ANIMO
QVOS. ANGLIAE . REX . PRO . VNO . OFFEREBAT
AVREIS . TER . MILLE . HISPANIS
NE . TIBI . TANTI . VIRI . DEESSET . ORNAMENTVM
BIBLIOTHECAE . AMBROSIANAE . CONSECRAVIT
NE . TANTI . LARGITORIS . DEESSET . MEMORIA

considered as invaluable, though the greatest part consists in bare sketches, sometimes of a figure, and sometimes of an instrument or machine, with a short note annexed to it. There is also an explication of the leaden colour of the new Moon, which has been attributed to others; an explanation of the relief in painting; some observations on the deception from looking at any object with only one eye; and he suggests that white is not a colour in itself, but a mixture of all the others, which has been since confirmed by the Newtonian experiments.

A noble Venetian, who proposed a few years ago to establish an Academy at Venice, used to say that he only wished for a catalogue of the best pictures, plaster casts of the best Grecian statues, a Camera Obscura, and Leonardo da Vinci's Treatise upon Painting.

Practically speaking, this great genius excelled particularly in expression. There was a wonderful relief in all his works; his abilities extended even to the minutest parts of them, and his Children had a grace upon their countenances which Nature did but equal, without surpassing.

QVEM . SANGVIS . QVEM . MORES
MAGNO . FEDERICO . FVNDATORI
ADSTRINGVNT
BIBLIOTHECAE . CONVERSATORES
POSVERE
ANNO . MDCXXXVII."

passing.—Prodigious vivacity was joined in him to prodigious patience, and he gave the first example in the art of the effects of unwearied assiduity and strenuous exertion. Unfortunately the importunate idea of perfection, a goading fury to great genius, left him not a single moment at rest; and many exquisite performances were thrown into the flames because they did not reach his own imaginary standard. From this reason so few of his pictures are now left.

The History of the celebrated Holy Supper in the Refectory of the Dominicans at Milan is singular and curious. If its loss was formerly lamented by every writer on the art, the connoisseur may now congratulate himself on its restoration. The following is an authentic account of it, extracted from the Report made by the Prior of the Convent to the Princes Corsini, when they passed through Milan.

His Holy Supper.

" Da Vinci painted the Holy Supper about the end of " the fifteenth century.—The French having taken Milan " could not carry away the picture as it was in Fresco, " but they had it twice copied, and one copy is in the " Church of St. Germain's Auxerrois at Paris, and the " other, which is the better, in the Chapel of Ecouen, " that once belonged to the Constable Anne de Montmorenci.—Lomazzo copied it a third time, and his copy " is in the Church of St. Barnaba at Milan. The ori-

" ginal, after near a century, was so much faded and de- " cayed, that the Religious believed it impossible to be " restored, and that it was consequently of no value. " Desirous however of enlarging the door of the Refec- " tory, they broke into the picture, and cut off a leg of " one of the Apostles.—It continued in this state till the " year 1726, when the ingenious Angelo Belloti offered " to restore it. The Monks did not suppose it to be pos- " sible, but as Belloti persisted in his proposal, and no- " thing could be lost by the attempt, they submitted to " the experiment. He succeeded to their astonishment, " and the picture in its present state seems to have suffer- " ed only very little in its colouring, and the damage of " one of its figures (*e*)."—The very incorrect print of Peter Soutman the younger is after Lomazzo, but there are

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(*e*) " Quantunque non si sappia precisamente quanto tempo impiegasse L. da V. nella celebre dipintura da esso fatta nel refettorio de' PP. Domenicani del Convento delle Grazie di questa città; si sà però di certo, che egli nel 1497 attualmente la dipingeva. ——— Una si pregevole dipintura, come ognuno sa, circa un secolo dopo era quasi smarrita; e col succeder degli anni talmente s'era guasta, che perduta forse qualunque speranza di riacquistarla; nè curando più tanto tesoro, pensarono i religiosi del mentovato convento di alzare e dilatare la porta del medesimo rifettorio, la quale era bassa ed angusta; e per tal cagione tagliando il muro, hanno tagliate le gambe ed i piedi all' immagine, che stà nel mezzo di Gesù Christo, e degli apostoli a lui vicini, come in fatti di presente si vede. Finalmente per buona sorte l'anno 1726 vi fù il Sign. Mich. Agnolo Bellotti, pittore Milanese, che con un suo particolare segreto si esibì di ricavare fuori un altra volta la sopradetta dipintura. Il P. Priore e gli altri religiosi del medesimo convento graziosamente accettando la sua esibizione, e fatta fare con prospero successo in alcuna parte della stessa dipintura la sperienza del segreto, affidarono del tutto al detto eccellente dipintore l'impresa, nella quale, siccome ognuno ora vede, felicemente ne rinscì. ——— Esso Sign. Bellotti con molta sua finezza comunicò a Padri sudetti per ogni evento il segreto."

are very few engravings of any kind from Leonardo da Vinci.—Hollar has left a few, and he has introduced into them conceits of his own which reduce their value.

Leonardo da Vinci projected the junction of the two canals which conduct the waters of the Adda and Tesino to Milan, by the means of sluices, the mechanism of which had been discovered before his time.—After the catastrophe in which his patron Ludovico Sforza had been involved, he returned to Florence, and by one of those fatalities which seem due to accident, he escaped the notice of Leo the Xth, and this great Mecænas did not receive the advantage from him that was within his reach.—Leonardo da Vinci, solicited by Francis the Ist, quitted his country for France, and soon after his arrival at the Court of Fontainbleau he fell sick. Francis the Ist paid him a visit in person, and Leonardo da Vinci rising up to receive his august visitant with more respect, expired within the Monarch's arms (*f*).

The

(*f*) Vasari has left the following splendid character of him: " Grandissimi doni si veggono piovere dagl' infiussi celesti ne' corpi umani molte volte naturalmente e sopranaturali tal volta: e strabocchevolmente accozzarsi in un corpo solo, bellezza, grazia, e virtù in una maniera, che dovunque si volge quel tale, ciascuna sua azione è tanto divina, che lasciandosi dietro tutti gli altri uomini, manifestamente si fa conoscere per cosa (come ella è) largita da Dio, e non acquistata per arte umana. Questo lo videro gli uomini in Lionardo da Vinci, nel quale, oltre la bellezza del corpo non lodata mai abbastanza, era la grazia più che infinita in qualunque sua azione; e tanta, e sì fatta poi la virtù, che dovunque l'animo volse nelle cose difficili, con facilità le rendeva assolute. La forza in lui fu molta, e congiunta con la destrezza: l'animo, e 'l valore sempre regio, e magnanimo: e la fama del suo

The news of Leonardo da Vinci's death, and of the French King's grief, circulated through Europe, and the jealous

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nome tanto s' allargò, che non solo nel suo tempo fu tenuto in pregio, ma pervenne ancora molto più ne' posteri dopo la morte sua.

Verameme mirabile, e celeste fu Lionardo figliuolo di Ser Piero da Vinci; e nella erudizione, e principi delle lettere arabe fatto profitto grande, s' egli non fosse stato tanto vario, ed instabile. Perchè egli si mise a imparare molte cose, e cominciate poi l' abbandonava. Ecco, nell' abbaco egli in pochi mesi, ch' ei v' attese, fece tanto acquisto, che movendo di continuo dubbi, e difficultà al maestro, che gl' insegnava, bene spesso lo confondeva. Dette alquanto d' opera alla musica, ma tosto si risolvè imparare a sonare la lira, come quelli, che dalla Natura avea spirito elevatissimo, e pieno di leggiadria, onde sopra quella cantò divinamente all' improvviso. Nondimeno, bench' egli a sì varie cose attendesse, non lasciò mai il disegnare, ed il fare di relievo, come cose, che gli andavano a fantasia più d' alcun' altra. Veduto questo Ser Piero, e considerato la elevazione di quell' ingegno, preso un giorno alcuni de' suoi disegni, gli portò ad Andrea del Verrocchio, ch' era molto amico suo, e lo pregò strettamente, che gli dovesse dire, si Lionardo attendendo al disegno, farebbe alcun profitto. Stupì Andrea nel veder il grandissimo principio di Lionardo, e confortò Ser Piero, che lo facesse attendere; ond' egli ordinò con Lionardo, ch' ei dovesse andare a bottega d' Andrea; il che Lionardo fece volentieri oltre modo. E non solo esercitò una professione, ma tutte quelle, ove il disegno interveniva."

"Finalmente venuto vecchio, stette molti mesi ammalato, e vedendosi vicino alla morte, si volse diligentemente informare delle cose cattoliche, e della via buona, e santa religione cristiana, e poi con molti pianti confesso, e contrito, sebbene ei non poteva reggersi in piedi, sostenendosi nelle braccia de' suoi amici, e servi, volle divotamente pigliare il Santissimo Sacramento fuor del letto. Soppraggiunseli il Re, che spesso, e amorevolmente lo soleva visitare, per il che egli per riverenza rizzatosi a sedere sul letto, contando il mal suo, e gli accidenti di quello, mostrava tuttavia, quanto aveva offeso Dio, e gli uomini del Mondo, non avendo operato nell' arte, come si conveniva. Onde gli venne un parosismo messaggiero della morte, per la qual cosa rizzatosi il Re, e presagli la testa per aiutarlo, e porgerli favore, acciocchè il male lo alleggerisce; lo spirito suo, che divinissimo era, conoscendo non potere avere maggior onore, spirò in braccio a quel Re, nell' età sua d'anni 75.

Dolse la perdita di Lionardo fuor di modo a tutti quelli che l' avevano conosciuto, perchè mai non fu persona, che tanto facesse onore alla pittura. Egli con lo splendor dell' aria sua, che bellissima era, rasserenava ogni animo mesto; e con le parole volgeva al sì, e al nò ogn' indurata intenzione. Egli con le forze sue rite-

jealous Charles the Vth immediately began to collect every piece from Titian's pencil. Yet this temporary Quixotism is not to be compared with the regular and generous protection Francis the Ist afforded during his whole life to the Arts and Letters.—To this solid and lasting glory the Emperor preferred the weak and frivolous reputation of being the terror of three or four quarters of the world, and the original of the Pierocide of Rabelais.—His memory has suffered by it.—His exploits—his activity—his power—his victories—and his genius may dazzle, whilst his amiable rival interests the heart.—We are in love with his great and good qualities in private life, and Europe contemplates Francis the Ist with the eyes of Madame d'Etampes!

F. Barto-

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neva ogni violenta furia, e con la destra torceva un ferro d' una campanella di muraglia, e un ferro di cavallo, come s' ei fosse piombo. Con la liberalità sua raccoglieva, e pasceva ogni amico povero, e ricco, pur ch' egli avesse ingegno, e virtù. Ornava, ed onorava con ogni azione qualsivoglia disonorata, e spogliata stanza; per il che ebbe veramente Fiorenza grandissimo dono nel nascere di Lionardo, e perdita più che infinita nella sua morte. Nell' arte della pittura aggiunse costui alla maniera del colorire ad olio una certa oscurità, donde hanno dato i moderni gran forza, e relievo alle loro figure. E nella statuaria fece prove nelle tre figure di bronzo, che sono sopra la porto di S. Giovanni dalla parte di tramontana, fatte da Gio. Francesco Rustici, ma ordinate col consiglio di Lionardo, le quali sono il più bel getto, e di disegno, e di perfezione, che modernamente si sia ancor visto. Da Lionardo abbiamo la notomia de' cavalli, e quella degli uomini assai più perfetta; laonde per tante parti sue sì divine, ancora che molto più operasie con le parole, che co' fatti, il nome, e la fama sua non si spegneranno giammai. Per il che fu detto in lode sua da Messer Gio. Batista Strozzi così:

Vince costui pur solo
Tutti altri, e vince Fidia, e vince Apelle,
E tutto il lor vittorioso stuolo."

Vasari, tom. 3. 12—33. 4to. *Firenze,* 1771.

F. Bartolomeo della Porta.

F. Bartolomeo della Porta, the friend and brother Monk of Savonarola, was the Tuscan Painter commonly called "Il Frate."—The St. Mark, in the Pitti Palace, is alone sufficient to establish his character.—Every thing which constitutes the great Painter is visible, and he knew how to blend the sweetness of Rafaello with the majesty "alla terribil via" of Michelagnolo. To the former indeed he gave lessons, and the disciple was worthy of the master.—Few of "Il Frate's" works are now existing, but they who judge of pictures by their excellence, and not by number, will ever reckon "Il Frate" a first-rate Painter.—The Editor of the Dresden Gallery has given a picture of "Il Frate" to Correggio (*a*).—If this mistake is not an error of the impression it is inexcusable, for the styles of these two great men are very different.

Pietro di Cosimo.

Florence possessed likewise Pietro di Cosimo, remarkable for the original oddity of his productions, and amongst them the mysterious triumphal Masquerade, which was intended to prognosticate the restoration of Leo the Xth and the Medici family at Florence.—It was in the last year of the Magistracy of the Gonfalonier Soderini that this dismal spectacle was exhibited.—In the Carnival, and in the night of its greatest festivity, the citizens

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(*a*) N°. I. of the Plates.

tizens gazed in horrid silence on this frightful scene, as it passed along the streets.—It consisted of a black funeral car (*b*), on which were painted white crosses, and dead men's

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(*b*) "Era il trionfo un carro grandissimo tirato da bufoli tutto nero, e dipinto d' ossa di morti, e di croci bianche, e sopra il carro era una Morte grandissima in cima, con la falce in mano, ed aveva in giro al carro molti sepolcri col coperchio; ed in tutti que' luoghi, che il trionfo si fermava a cantare, s' aprivano, e uscivano alcuni vestiti di tela nera, sopra la quale erano dipinte tutte le ossature di morto nelle braccia, petto, rene, e gambe, che il bianco spiccava sopra quel nero, ed apparendo di lontano alcune di quelle torce con maschere, che pigliavano col teschio di morto il dinanzi, e 'l di dietro, e parimente la gola, oltre al parere cosa naturalissima, era orribile, e spaventosa a vedere; e questi morti, al suono di certe trombe sorde, e con suon roco, e morto, uscivano mezzi di que' sepolcri, e sedendovi sopra cantavano in musica, piena di malinconia, quella oggi nobilissima canzone:

Dolor, pianto, e penitenza, &c.

Era innanzi, e dietro al carro gran numero di morti a cavallo, sopra certi cavalli con somma diligenza scelti de' più secchi, e più strutti, che si potessero trovare, con covertine nere piene di croci bianche e ciascuno aveva quattro staffieri vestiti da morti, con torce nere, ed uno stendardo grande nero, con croci, ed ossa, e teste di morto. Appresso al trionfo si strascinava dieci stendardi neri, e mentre camminavano con voci tremanti, ed unite, diceva quella compagnia il Miserere, salmo di David.

Questo duro spettacolo, per la novità, come ho detto, e terribilità sua, mise terrore, e maraviglia insieme in tutta quella città; e sebbene non parve nella prima giunta cosa da carnovale, nondimeno per una certa novità, e per essere accomodato tutto benissimo, satisfece agli animi di tutti; e Piero Autore, ed inventore di tal cosa, ne fu sommamente lodato, e commendato, e fu cagione, che poi di mano in mano si seguitasse di fare cose spiritose, e d' ingegnosa invenzione; che in vero per tali soggetti, e per condurre simili feste, non ha avuto questa città mai paragone, ed ancora in que' vecchi, che lo videro, ne rimane viva memoria, nè si saziano di celebrar questa capricciosa invenzione. Sentii dire io ad Andrea di Cosimo, che fu con lui a fare questa opera, ed Andrea del Sarto, che fu suo discepolo, e vi si trovò anch' egli, che fu opinione in quel tempo, che questa invenzione fusse fatta per significare la tornata della Casa de' Medici del 12. in Firenze, perchè allora che questo trionfo si fece, erano esuli, e come dire morti, che dovessino in breve resuscitare, ed a questo fine interpetravano quelle parole, che sono nella canzone,

Morti siam, come vedete,
Così morti vedrem voi;

men's bones. It was drawn by four buffaloes, and a ghastly figure with a scythe sat upon it.—This figure represented Death, and had at its feet graves opening, out of which skeletons were continually issuing.—Many hundred persons, clothed in black, with masks resembling Death's heads, marched before it, as well as followed it, with lighted flambeaux in their hands. The lights were so well regulated, and fell so exactly on the car and the procession, that the whole appeared very natural. Numbers of other masks, not less frightful, mounted on the poorest horses that could be found, with black housings trailing on the ground, carried standards of black taffety, embroidered with crossed bones and tears. The skeletons, in trembling and mournful voices, sung penitential Psalms, with the Miserere, and the instrumental music corresponding with the vocal, added to the melancholy and petrifying spectacle. The car and the procession stopped before the Palace of the Gonfalonier Soderini and those of the principal citizens, apparently to do them honour, and the skeletons immediately began the chorus of

> " Morti siam', come vedete;
> Così morti vedrem' voi: Fummo

> Fummo già, come voi sete,
> Voi sarete come noi, &c.

Volendo accennare la ritornata loro in casa, e quasi come una resurrezione da morte a vita, e la cacciata, ed abbassamento de' contrari loro: o pure, che fusse, che molti dall' effetto, che seguì della tornata in Firenze di quella illustrissima Casa, come son vaghi gl' ingegni umani d' applicare le parole, ed ogn' atto, che nasce prima, agli effetti che seguon poi, che gli fu dato questa interpretazione."

Vasari, tom. 3. 22, 23.

Fummo già, come voi sete,
Voi sarete come noi (*c*)."

To suppose this melancholy masquerade to have been a mere Carnival amusement would be idle and ridiculous. Exclusive of its singularity, so ill adapted to a season of general gaiety, all the writers of the age unanimously assert that it originated with the friends of the Medici, who, submitting with impatience to their long exile, and seeing a ray of hope that announced the restoration of the family, meant to signify by this sepulchral triumph the death of their enemies, and a civil resurrection to themselves.

Andrea del Sarto.

Andrea del Sarto (*d*), the disciple of Pietro di Cosimo, was one of the greatest painters, and undoubtedly the greatest colourist, without exception, of the Florentine school. —His drawing was very correct, and there was such purity in

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(*c*) The substance of this ghostly chorus may be found in the humble poetry of almost every village church-yard.—The Dead have lived their Day—Ours is now fleeting—

" ——— omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti."

(*d*) One of his grateful scholars placed a tablet in the Church de' Servi to his memory, with the inscription—

" ANDREA SARTIO
Admirabilis ingenii Pictori, ac veteribus illis omnium judicio
Comparando,
Dominicus Contes Discipulus pro laboribus in se instituendo susceptis
Grato animo posuit.
Vixit ann. xiii. ob. A. MDXXX."

in all his works that he had the name of "Andrea senza "errore"—Andrew without faults.—His colouring had vast softness and harmony, and perhaps no painter better understood the art of drapery.—If he had any defect it was a want of force and grandeur; but it is in his own native city and not at Rome that we ought to study him, and estimate his talents. The Madonna del Sacco passes for his master-piece, and if any other of his works has any pretensions to the character it is doubtless Abraham's Sacrifice, where there is a degree of dignity and grandeur far superior to his general style.—Some years ago the Prince of Orange got possession of this delicious picture, which the late King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, had purchased of the Duke of Modena, and from the Dresden Gallery it travelled into the Stadtholder's Cabinet.—Its early history has been transmitted to us by Vasari and Baldinucci, and deserves to be related.—Andrea del Sarto's indiscretion and misconduct had irritated Francis the Ist against him, and the artist on his return to Florence finished the picture in question as a peace-offering to the French Monarch. Notwithstanding his passion for the works of Andrea del Sarto, Francis the Ist would not receive it, and the Painter dying soon afterwards, Filippo Strozzi purchased it, and made a present of it to Alphonso D'Avalos, Marquis de Guasto, who carried it to the island of Ischia near Naples. It was afterwards presented by the Marquis to his master the King of Spain, and from Madrid it returned to Florence.

rence. One of the Grand Dukes gave it to the Duke of Modena, and from Modena it passed to Dresden and the Hague. Its travels and its change of masters are certainly extraordinary, and Signor Bottari insists more than one circumstance in its history by the two writers is improbable.—He cannot conceive how the King of Spain could consent to part with a picture of such value, and still more how the Medici Family, which instead of reducing its collection regularly increased it, and bought at any price the works of Andrea del Sarto, could have been induced to give up a picture of this master that must have been one of its most inestimable acquisitions. It may possibly be an excess of extravagance to suspect the originality of the picture at the Hague, which came without doubt both out of the Cabinet at Dresden, and that of Modena, though a conjecture may be hazarded if Andrea del Sarto did not more than once repeat the same subject.—Scannelli (*e*), an Italian Author, believes the heads of Abraham and Isaac were copied from those of the Laocoon and one of his Sons, but the resemblance is not very striking.—Louis Surugue the elder engraved his beautiful plate after a drawing in which the great master's manner had not been sufficiently kept in view.

Architecture.

Quitting the pencil and the pallet, Architecture will now claim some attention.—Julius the IId, the predecessor

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(*e*) *Microcosmo. p.* 174.

sor of Leo the Xth, thought the Cathedral of St. Peter's too small and insignificant, and proposed, amongst his other great projects, the construction of a new one.—Bramante Lazzare d'Urbino was exactly the architect that he wanted, and the first stone of the building was laid in 1508, though it was not finished on his plan.—This artist of unbounded genius ought to have been born in the times of the ancient Romans.—Even the majestic structure of St. Peter's, the most august structure in the world, compared with Bramante's vast ideas, would be pitiful and paltry. His genius was not only boundless but rapid and impetuous. He gave his orders, and enormous blocks of marble came post from the quarries of Carrara; his piles of buildings rose by enchantment like Fairy Palaces out of the earth; and when their foundations were only expected to be laid, the whole edifices were finished (*f*).—Bramante died during the first years of Leo's Pontificate, and on his death-bed he recommended Rafaello as his successor, for this Sovereign Painter was also a Sovereign Architect.—Rafaello drew a fresh design for St. Peter's, which the new Pope approved, but the mighty work that served for a pretext for such a multitude of exactions, proceeded very slowly during Leo's reign.

Bramante Lazzare d' Urbino.

Rafaello

(*f*) Era tanta la furia di lui, che le sue fabbriche non si murassero ma nascessero." *Vasari.*

Rafaello and his scholar Giulio Romano filled Rome and its environs with a number of elegant palaces. The Italians, it is commonly believed, have a greater respect for ancient buildings than any other nation, and the observation is in general true. Yet the Cimbri and the Goths, the Vandals and the Lombards, have left some of their descendants amongst them, and men of taste complain very grievously that the beautiful labours of these two artists have been either wantonly destroyed or suffered to decay. Many of their buildings have entirely disappeared, and others are scarcely to be found.

Baltassare Perucci.

Baltassare Perucci of Sienna was a Tuscan architect of some reputation, and the connoisseurs speak highly of his scrupulous attention to the different orders, and the rules connected with them. Peruzzi also restored for the theatrical exhibitions under Leo's Pontificate the art, which had been lost, of producing every natural object by the Pencil, Perspective and Artificial Light.—Vasari, who was an eye-witness of these stage decorations, is lavish in his praises of them. This art, so difficult to be acquired, because it does not admit of mediocrity, has never been supposed to have passed the Alps in any degree of perfection; and when France wished for a few specimens of it, she was obliged to fetch Servandoni, the first artist of the kind, from Florence.—Perucci was the author also of another magnificent plan for St. Peter's, and the architects who completed it, without the generosity of acknowledging their obligations, borrowed many of their ideas from it.

Sansovino.

Sansovino, another able Florentine, hath left, particularly at Venice, many beautiful monuments of his abilities. The Library of St. Mark is from his design, as well as the "Procuratie Neuve," which, as Palladio observes, is the richest and most ornamented building since the days of the Ancients. Venice indeed has not a single building of an early date which the Gondoliers do not tell you was by Sansovino.—Scamozzi relates that he left a treatise on the art, but that treatise is no more.

Sculpture—Rustici.

Rustici, a Florentine sculptor, is distinguished by the celebrated group of St. John disputing with the Jewish Doctors. The three figures are in fact separate and detached, but so as to appear connected with each other, from their looks and gestures. Vasari considers his group as one of the most perfect modern compositions (*a*), and

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(*a*) "Queste tre statue sono le più perfette, e meglio intese, che siano state mai fatte de maëstro moderno. ——— Oltre al S. Giovanni, che è una figura pronta e vivace, viè un zuccone grassotto, che è bellissimo, il quale, posato il braccio destro sopra un fianco, con un pezzo di spalla nuda, e tenendo con la sinistra mano una carta dinanzi agli occhi, ha soppraposta la gamba sinistra alla destra, e sta in atto consideratissimo, per rispondere a S. Giovanni, con due sorte di panni vestito, uno sottile, che scherza intorno alle parte ignude della figura, ed un manto di sopra più grosso, condotto con un andar di pieghe, che è molto facile ed artifizioso. Simile a questo è il Fariseo, perciocchè, postasi la man destra alla barba, con atto grave si tira alquanto a dietro, mostrando stupirsi delle parole di Giovanni." *Vusari.*

and a later artist, one of the best judges (*b*) of our times, is of opinion that Vasari's judgment is correct. Rustici's intimacy with Leonardo da Vinci rather lowered his own reputation, for it was to Leonardo da Vinci this group has been attributed.

Engraving—Marco Antonio.

Under Rafaello's eyes Marco Antonio began to engrave from his master's works, and both Rafaello and his scholars, jealous of their honour, did not consider it beneath them to stoop to the same employment.—There are above eight hundred prints from Rafaello's pictures or drawings.

Ugo di Carpi.

Ugo di Carpi applied to the same subject upon wood, and he found out the secret of giving his prints an appearance of half tints, shades, and light, like the drawings which have the Clear Obscure.

Piero Maria da Peschia. Michelino.

Giovanni da Castel. Valerio Vincentino. Matteo dal Massaro. Domenico di Polo.

Engraving also on gems or precious stones made a rapid progress in Leo's Pontificate. Piero Maria da Peschia, and his competitor Michelino, were great imitators of the Ancients, and they brought the art so much forward that Giovanni da Castel of Bologna, Valerio Vicentino, and Matteo dal Massaro produced many beautiful works. Domenico di Polo, a Florentine, and a disciple of

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(*b*) "Sono minori del vero le lodi, che il Vasari dà a queste statue, onde è probabilissimo, che Lionardo da Vinci desse dell' ajuto." *Bottari.*

of Giovanni di Cornalino excelled in hollow or sunk engravings. All of them were however surpassed by Lodovico Anichini of Ferrara; but the ablest artist of the kind, and in every species of engraving, was Alessandro Cesare, more known under the name of "Il Greco."

Lodovico Anichini. Alessandro Cesare.

The Medallic art improved likewise more and more, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century the Medallic History of the Roman Pontiffs affords numerous examples of the excellence of the workmanship, and a judicious choice of very beautiful types and legends applicable to these Ecclesiastical Sovereigns.

Leo the Xth inherited from his father Lorenzo a passionate taste for music, and his friend Anthony de Bergues, the Abbé of St. Bertin, sent him regularly Belgic airs, extracted from the music of St. Omer's (*c*), which Leo

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(*c*) " Salutem, quam Amplitudo Tua mihi scripsit, equidem maximi muneris instar accipio, eamque Tibi plurimo fœnore cumulatam rescribo. Ex epistolâ tum eruditionis, tum modestiæ plenâ, humanissimi pectoris istius, et omnino Medicûm gente digni simulacrum libenter agnovi, id quod antehac, cum apud nos ageres, perspexeram. Quod autem hospitioli nostri non solum meministi, verum etiam tam diligenter pro eo gratias agis, quodque tam benignè tuam invicem operam offers, animum quidem istum tuum tam propensum, volens gaudensque amplector, meritum meum nullum agnosco. Quod enim nostra mediocritas, cum cognoscendi studio in his regionibus nostratibus velut Ulysses Homericus, aut Solon Herodoticus peregrinum ageres, qualicunque sedulitate accepimus, nulla hic nostra prædicanda est humanitas, sed summa barbaries inhumanitasque, ni fecissemus, fuisset. Utinam autem vel tuæ dignitati, vel nostro animo satisfactum esset. Mea quidem tecta jam aliquot annis hospes nullus subiit vel ornatior, vel jucundior, ut hoc nomine me tibi

Leo received with great pleasure.—In speaking of Leonardo da Vinci, the universal Genius, his invention of a species of a harp with twenty-four strings, and a harpsichord (*d*) very different from the modern one, was omitted. Both these inventions had their day, and in their turn have given place to more refined instruments.

Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo the Xth.

Giuliano de' Medici, the youngest brother of Leo the Xth, was very young when his father Lorenzo died, but he was of great use to his brothers in their different enterprises and negotiations. During the term of their common exile he found an asylum with the Dukes of Urbino, Gui de Montefeltro, and his adopted son Francesco Maria de la Rovera. The latter received afterwards a proof of his gratitude, which was more meritorious, as gratitude

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beneficium debere potius existimem, quam credidisse. Porro operâ tuâ, si quando erit usus, tantâ omnino libertate utar, quantâ tu benignitate offers.—Libuit autem interim, et hac in re priscum referre morem, ut tuæ præstantiæ non solum hospitalis epistolæ, verum etiam xeniorum vice nonnihil adderem. Mitto autem cantiunculas musicas duas: quod ego munus, tametsi perquam exiguum, ac Ciceronianâ etiam levidensâ levius, tamen haud ingratum fore confido, vel quod es ipse hujus artis antiquissimæ, omniumque consensu divinæ, longè scientissimus, itidem ut aliarum omnium: vel quod cantilena recens est et nuperrimè nata; et ex eo quidem nata, qui se quondam in clarissimâ Medicûm familiâ prædicat alitum fuisse, quæ mihi nimirum ingeniis excitandis, ornandisque studiis cœlitus data fuisse videtur. Is est in nostrâ urbe musicæ artis princeps.—Præstantissimam Amplitudinem tuam florentem et incolumem tueantur Superi. Apud Divum Audomarum, 30 Julii, anno a Christo nato 1501. *Epistola Antonii u Bergis, Abbatis Bertinici, ad Joannem de' Medicis, Cardinalem.*

(*d*) "Una specie d'arpe, che non è più in uso. ——— Gli si attribuisce ancora l'invenzione dell' arcicimbalo, che per la sua doppia estenzione è il contrabbasso del cimbalo ordinario." *Bottari.*

gratitude is not often a favourite virtue of the Great. As long as Giuliano lived he prevented his brother attempting any thing against the Dutchy of Urbino, and it was not till after his death, that the Roman Pontiff stripped the legitimate heir of his hereditary patrimony.

On the restoration of the Medici in 1512, Giuliano voluntarily waved his own pretensions to the government of Florence in favour of his nephew Lorenzo. This self-denial is not however to be considered as a proof of his moderation, for he was well known to have been one of those ambitious characters, who are always studying how far fortune will carry them. Supported by his brother Leo the Xth, and seeing himself in the road to power, he aspired successively to the government of Sienna, Lucca, the Dutchy of Ferrara, and even the Crown of Naples, and at his death he was the Gonfalonier of the Holy Church and Vicar of Modena and Reggio.

His death and character.

Being very amiable and generally beloved, his death was universally lamented, and even the Court shared in the public sorrow. A little before the termination of his fatal complaint, Leo the Xth, though he was then Pope, paid him an affectionate visit at Florence, and in a letter from Cardinal Bembo to the Cardinal Bibiena there is a passage, which contains a simple but affectionate tribute of respect for him. "I have not been able," he tells Bibiena,

biena, “to read your pious and affectionate letter in answer to mine on the death of our good Duke without tears.—What a lamentable misfortune!—Every part of your letter has affected me, and in particular the passage where you mention his favourite dog that you never meet without a flood of tears.—Peace and happiness attend the blessed soul, which is now, I trust, interceding for us, with its Heavenly Master (*d*).”—Bembo also introduced him into one of his dialogues.—Crescimbeni has preserved some specimens of his poetry, and the Count Balthazar Castiglione proposed him for his model of the “Perfect Courtier.”—Giuliano married Philiberta of Savoy, the daughter of a Bourbon, whose memory France has continued to detest, notwithstanding she was the mother of Francis the first. Through this alliance the French Monarch conferred on Giuliano the Dutchy of Nemours, a title that belonged to a branch of the Armagnacs, the acknowledged descendants of Clovis by Charibert the brother of Dagobert, which ended with Louis de Nemours killed in the reign of Louis the XIIth at the battle of Cerignoles. Gaston de Foix had afterwards

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(*d*) “Io non ho potuto leggere la pietosissima e amorevolissima lettera di V. S. in risposta delle mie sopra la morte del buon Duca nostro, senza lagrime. O acerbo e lagrimevolissimo caso! O quanto m'ha commosso ogni parte di questa vostra lettera! ma quella molto, nella quale scrivete, che non solo altro, ma il cane suo leone (chien barbet) vi movea a piagnere, ogni volta che lo vedevate. ——— Dio doni pace a questa innocente e benedetta anima, la quale per la sua religione e bontà è da credere, che in gratia della sua Maësta raccolta prieghi per noi.”

Epist. Bemb. ad Card. di Sta. M. in Port.

wards the title, and it again expired with him in the bosom of victory at Ravenna.

After Giuliano's death, without legitimate issue, Francis the Ist, out of respect for his widow (*e*) conferred it on a branch of the House of Savoy, and the last Duke fell in a duel with his brother-in-law the Duke de Beaufort.—Giuliano's tomb may be seen in the new Sacristy of the Church of St. Lawrence, and there is his statue over it in the style of Michelagnolo, and in an attitude which corresponded with his active character.—The figure seems almost to be in motion.—On the sides are statues of day and night, the latter of which has also passed for one of the first productions of the sculptor's chisel. One side of the face is not indeed finished, but looking at the profile, there is so much truth in it, that it effectually deceives the eye.—The following lines were written on this celebrated statue, which will give some faint idea of its matchless beauty.

"La Notte che tu vedi in si dolci atti
Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita

In

(*e*) Amongst Leo's Letters there is one to Philiberta Giuliano's widow. "Ego cum te semel in filiæ mihi charissimæ loco collocârim atque habuerim, etsi is cujus te causâ impensius amabam, frater meus optimus et suavissimus decedens e vitâ me atque te mœrentes reliquit, tui tamen curam, rationem, benevolentiam, amorem denique paternnm meum nunquam rejiciam. Id virtus, probitas, religio tua, optimi tui castissimique mores atque nobilitas postulant." *Ep. Leon. X.*

In questo sasso; e perchè dorme ha vita
Destala se nol credi, e parleratti (*f*).

The artist is supposed to have replied in the character of Night, and alluded to the Florentine troubles and divisions.

" Grato mi è il sonno, e più l'esser di sasso.
Mentre ch' il danno e la vergogna dura,
Non veder, non sentir mi è gran ventura
Però non mi destar! deh parla basso (*g*)!"

Lucrezia de' Medici.

Lucrezia de' Medici, the eldest daughter of the Great Lorenzo, married Jacopo Salviati, a Florentine distinguished in a superior manner by his wisdom and virtue. Yet a writer has assured us that from his indiscreet counsels

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(*f*) " Wrought by an Angel's Hands see beauteous Night,
In Sleep reclin'd, attract th' astonish'd Sight.
Her heaving Breast unerring Tokens gives
Of inward Breath.—She sleeps—the Goddess lives.
Thy Doubts to end, this mystic Truth to teach,
Disturb her Slumbers, and provoke her Speech."

(*g*) " Depriv'd of Sense, blest with a marble Form,
I rest unshaken in the raging Storm.
To see, to hear, the Faculties of Life,
Is but to feel the dreadful Pains of Strife!
Stranger! For Pity's sake, or Silence keep,
Or pray, speak low.—You rob me of my Sleep."

When these Italian " Jeux d'Esprit" were attempted to be introduced into English, I had unaccountably forgotten or overlooked Mr. Seward's Translation (*Anecdotes, vol.* 1. 33, 34.)—The recollection of the successful efforts of his Muse would have precluded the idea of any other Version.

sels in a critical moment, which were unfortunately followed, the first city of the world was plunged into one of the most terrible calamities, it had experienced for many ages (*a*).—Angelo Politiano dedicated to Giacopo Salviati his charming (*b*) poem with the title of Rusticus, which is no unworthy supplement to the Georgics.

Varchi the historian, who is not to be accused of flattery, has said of Lucrezia, that " she was the most respectable female character the world had ever seen," and a numerous family recompensed her virtues.

The most distinguished of her children were

Cardinal Salviati.

The Cardinal Salviati—a leading character in the Flo-

(*a*) " Avendo Papa Clemente per consiglio di Messer Jacopo Salviati licenziate quelle cinque bande, che gli aveva mandato il Sgr. Giovannino, il quale già era morto in Lombardia ; Borbone, saputo che a Roma non ci erano più soldati, spinse l'esercito suo alla volta di Roma.

Salviati fù propria causa del sacco di Roma."

Vita di Cellini.

(*b*) " Tua fides in hoc opusculo tuendo, meus honos agitur ; cujus quidem etsi semper cura apud te jam inde a pueritiâ excubuit, tamen eum tueri nunc, vel ob id ipsum impensius debes, quod es nuper Laurentio Medici, principi viro, cujus ego cliens alumnusque sum, unus ex omni Florentinâ juventute gener ascitus."

In Politiano's Works there are also the following lines :

" Pro Cubiculo Julii Salviati.
Hic faciat me Juno Patrem, Cytherea Maritum,
Libertas Regem, Semideumque Sopor."

Florentine history. Benevuto Cellini, who was not pleased with him and usually spoke his sentiments with great coarseness, has called him "Il Cardinale Bestia," and says his visage was rather like an ass than that of a human being (*c*), and that when he was angry it was still more brutal. The Prelate, however, patronised a Florentine painter and architect in an extraordinary manner, and allowed him to take his name. This artist's heads are usually very graceful, but his drawing is rather stiff, and he is a Mannerist!—As an architect he possesses an equal share of reputation, and he is said to have discovered the ancient mode of tracing the Ionic fluted pillar.

Bernardo Salviati.

Bernardo—elevated to the Purple after the death of his brother. He built at Rome after the design of Nanni or Baccio Biggio the Florentine the Salviati palace in the Longara near the Tiber, where the Court and apartments are of a beauty that may enter into competition with that of the first palaces in Rome. Before Bernardo went into the Church, he had married and had several children, two of whom Giovanni Salviati and Francesco Salviati settled in France. The latter was a Knight of Malta and Grand Master of the ancient regular military orders

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(*c*) "Aveva più viso d'asino che d'uomo, e infuriandosi diveniva più brutto la metà."

orders of Christendom since united with the order of Mount Carmel in the person of the Count de Provènce. The celebrated ancestor of Madame de Maintenon mentions the family in his memoirs.

" Vers ce tems, je m'amourachai de Diane Salviati " fille aînée de Talcy. Cette passion me mit en tête la " Poësie Française, et ce fut alors que je composai, ce " qu'on a depuis apellé le Printems de d'Aubigné, où il y " a à la vérité plusieurs choses peu polies; mais en ré" compense une certaine fureur poëtique, que les gens " du métier loueront. Un jour comme je contais auprès " du père de ma maitresse mes infortunes et mes détres" ses, le vieillard m'interrompit en me disant; vous m'a" vez autrefois conté que les originaux de l'enterprise " d'Amboise avaient été mis en dépôt entre les mains de " votre père, et que dans l'une de ces pièces, il s'y trou" vait le seing du Chancélier de l'Hôpital, qui pour le " présent est retiré dans sa maison, près d'Etampes; " c'est un homme qui n'est plus bon à rien, et qui a dé" savoué votre parti; si vous voulez que je lui envoye " un homme pour l'avertir que vous avez cette pièce en" tre vos mains, je me fais fort de vous faire donner dix " mille écus, soit par lui, ou par ceux qui voudraient " s'en servir pour le ruiner. Sur ce propos, sans répli" quer, je departis près de lui, m'en fus chercher un sac " de velours tanné, dans lequel étaient toutes ces écritu" res, le lui aportai et lui fis voir toutes les dites pièces,

“ après quoi je les repris de ma main, et les jettai dans le feu en sa présence, ce qui donna lieu au Sr. de Talcy de me taulxer rudement, à quoi je répondis, je les ai brulées de peur qu'elles ne me brulassent, car j'aurais pû succomber à la tentation. Le lendemain ce bon homme prit l'amoureux par la main, et lui tint tels propos: Encore que vous ne m'ayez point ouvert vos pensées, j'ai de trop bons yeux, pour n'avoir point découvert votre amour envers ma fille; vous la voyez recherchée de plusieurs qui vous surpassent en bien; ces papiers que vous brulâtes hier, de peur qu'ils ne vous brulassent, m'ont échaufé à vous dire, que je vous souhaite pour mon beau-fils; je lui répondis que cet acte ne méritait une si haute récompense, et que pour un trésor assez médiocre et mal acquis il m'en donnait un inestimable. —— Le Chevalier Salviati, oncle de mon accordée, rompit ce mariage sur la différence de religion entre les promis, ce qui m'affligea si extraordinairement que j'en tombai grièvement malade. —— Dans un tournoi où le Roi de Navarre, moi son écuyer, et les deux frères Lorrains se distinguèrent fort, Diane de Talcy mon ancienne maitresse assista, étant lors promise à Limeux, et voyant par la grande estime où j'étais à la Cour, la différence de ce qu'elle allait posséder à ce qu'elle avait perdu, prit tant de chagrin, et tomba dans une si grande mélancolie, qu'elle y succomba et mourut peu de tems après.”

D'Aubigné relates the story with great frankness, but is any great reputation to be derived from being proof against a temptation to dishonesty? Perhaps for the honour of the old Florentine he only meant to sound D'Aubigné, and would have banished him from his house and family if he had discovered in him the least inclination to have listened to the infamous proposal.

Leonardo Salviati of this family, was Tasso's most furious enemy.—This great poet had indiscreetly attacked the Florentines in one of his works, and it probably gave the first occasion to a very famous literary dispute. Camillo Pellegrino published a Dialogue on Epic Poetry, with the title of "Il Caraffa," in 1584, and endeavoured to prove that Tasso was in many respects superior to Ariosto. The Academy della Crusca took up the cause of Ariosto, and directed Salviati to refute the Dialogue of Pellegrino. His Reply appeared also in 1584, but the Academy published another by Salviati also in 1588, with the title of "L'Infarinato secondo."—This question respecting the merits of the two great poets has occasioned a swarm of publications, and the point in dispute is not yet settled.

During the Pontificate of Sixtus the IVth, Lorenzo de' Medici had been always exposed to the intrigues and persecution of the See of Rome, and he only narrowly escaped by great good fortune the stratagems prepared against

Maddalena de' Medici.

against him, by which his brother Giuliano perished.—The danger had not been lost upon him, and he reaped from it an instructive lesson for his future conduct.—As soon as the pleasant and pacific Pope Innocent the VIIIth had succeeded to the Pontifical Throne, Lorenzo endeavoured to conciliate his esteem and gain his confidence. A strict intimacy and friendship soon followed, and to draw the knot still closer between them he gave his second daughter Maddalena in marriage to the Pope's son Francesco Cibo Count d'Anguillare, of a noble Genoese family, and the brother of Alberic, in whose favour the Emperor Maximilian had erected Massa and Carrara into a feudal principality.—The Cardinal Cibo, who figures in the Florentine annals, was the fruit of this marriage. His mother was notorious for her avarice, but that avarice has been productive of the most important benefits, and rescued the human mind from spiritual slavery.—Leo the Xth had given her the produce of the sale of indulgencies (*d*) in

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(*d*) Guicciardini states the circumstance with indignation: "Et accrebbe che il Pontefice, ilquale per facilità della natura sua, esercitava in mole cose con poca, maestà l'ufficio Ponteficale, donò a Maddalena sua sorella lo emolumento, et l'esattione delle indulgenze di molte parti di Germania, laquale havendo fatto deputare Commessario il Vescovo Aremboddo ministro degno di questa commessione, che l'esercitava con grande avaritia, et estorsione, et sapendosi per tutta la Germania, che i danari, che se ne cavavano non andavano al Pontefice, ò alla Camera Apostolica, donde pur sarebbe forse stato possibile, che qualche par te se ne fusse spesa in usi buori, ma era destinata a SODISFARE ALL'AVARITIA D'UNA DONNA, HAVEVA FATTO DETESTABILE NON SOLO L'ESATTIONE, E I MINISTRI DI QUELLA, MA IL NOME ANCORA, ET L'AUTORITA DI CHI TANTO inconsultamente le concedava." (*Guicciardini*, *lib.* 13. 396.)—Sarpi Con.

in Saxony, and she intrusted the odious commission to Arembaud, an emissary fully qualified for the employment.

Trid. cap. 1. adds his authority to the accusation, and almost all the historians, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, have admitted the truth of it without hesitation or examination. Dr. Robertson, however, has demonstrated on the following circumstantial evidence, the falsity, or at least the inaccuracy of the charge:—"1. That Felix Contolori, who searched the pontifical archives of purpose, could not find this pretended grant in any of those registers where it must necessarily have been recorded. Palav. p. 5.—2. That the profits arising from Indulgencies in Saxony and the adjacent countries, had been granted not to Magdalen, but to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, who had the right of nominating those who published them. Seck. p. 12. Luth. Oper. 1. præf. p. 1. Palav. p. 6.—3. That Arcemboldo never had concern in the publication of Indulgencies in Saxony; his district was Flanders and the Upper and Lower Rhine. Seck. p. 14. Palav. p. 6.—4. That Luther and his adherents never mention this grant of Leo's to his sister, though a circumstance of which they could hardly have been ignorant, and which they would have been careful not to suppress.—5. The publication of Indulgencies in Germany was not usually committed to the Augustinians. The promulgation of them at three different periods under Julius the IId was granted to the Franciscans; the Dominicans had been employed in the same office a short time before the present period. Palav. p. 46.—6. The promulgation of those Indulgencies, which first excited Luther's indignation, was intrusted to the Archbishop of Mentz, in conjunction with the guardian of the Franciscans; but the latter having declined accepting of that trust, the sole right became vested in the Archbishop. Palav. 6. Seck. 16, 17.—7. Luther was not instigated by his superiors among the Augustinians to attack the Dominicans their rivals, or to depreciate Indulgencies because they were promulgated by them; his opposition to their opinions and vices proceeded from more laudable motives. Seck. p. 15. 32. Lutheri Opera 1. p. 64. 6.—8. A diploma of Indulgencies is published by Herm. Vonder Hardt, from which it appears that the name of the guardian of the Franciscans is retained together with that of the Archbishop, although the former did not act. The limits of the country to which their commissions extended, viz. the dioceses of Mentz, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and the territories of the Marquis of Brandenburgh, are mentioned in that diploma. Hist. Literaria Reformat. pars iv. p. 14. *Hist. of the Reign of Charles the Vth, book* 2. *vol.* 2. 86. *4to.* 1769.

On the subject of Indulgencies the learned writer has observed: "As the form of these Indulgencies, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are un-ment. The crying abuse of this profligate traffic first opened Luther's eyes, and roused him to his intrepid and successful

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known in Protestant countries, and little understood at present in several places where the Roman Catholic Religion is established, I have, for the information of my Readers, translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel.—'May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most Holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee first from all Ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See, and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in Purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the Holy Sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism, so that when you die the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the Paradise of delight shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of Indulgencies, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost incredible. If any man (said they) purchases letters of Indulgencies, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in Purgatory, for whose redemption Indulgencies are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into Heaven. That the efficacy of Indulgencies was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate (which was impossible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the Cross erected by the preachers of Indulgencies was as efficacious as the Cross of Christ itself. Lo! the Heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter; For twelve-pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of Purgatory; and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat you ought to strip yourself instantly and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c.—These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius, in his Examen Concilii Tridentini apud Herm. Vonder. Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. pars iv. p. 6. The same Author successful exertions against the Papal tyranny.—Maddalena died in 1519.

Contesina de' Medici.

Contesina, the third daughter of Lorenzo the Great, married Piero Ridolfi, of an illustrious family at Florence, who was beheaded in 1497, during the time of Savonarola, on his having taken a part in the attempt in favour of the House of Medici.—Condivi the disciple and historian of Michelagnolo calls the Cardinal Ridolfi their son "Porto di tutti i virtuosi." He was Archbishop of Florence, and furnished a very striking example of the use or abuse of the "Jus regressus" in the Church of Rome, for in 1532 he resigned his bishopric to Andrea Buondelmonte, received it again on his death in 1543, and resigned it a second time to the Archbishop Altovita. This Ecclesiastical custom was annulled by the council of Trent, and it must be acknowledged, many similar abuses were also abolished.—Unfortunately more essential ones remained.—Sick of a Polypus of the heart, and with an ulcer on the Pincal Gland, a thousand operators were called in, who eradicated very dextrously a few corns.

In the Conclave, which followed the death of Paul the IIId, the French interest attempted to raise Ridolfi to the Papal throne, but the Spaniards both feared and hated him, and he died suddenly.

CHAP.

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Hist. of Charles the Vth, book 2. *vol.* 2. 80.

CHAP. VIII.

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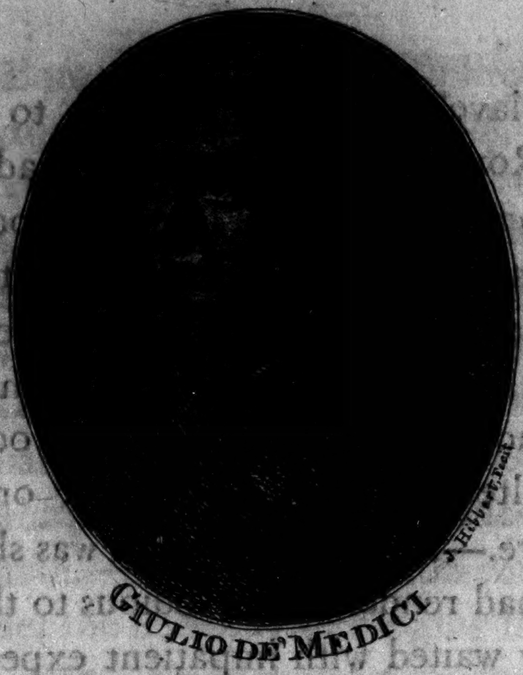
* *Hist. of Charles the Fifth, book 2. vol. 2.* 80.

CHAP. IX.

GIULIO DE' MEDICI*—Death of Adrian—Giulio de' Medici succeeds him, and takes the Name of Clement the VIIth—Francis the Ist defeated at Pavia—Clement the VIIth's Embarrassment—Joins the League against the Emperor—Francesco Maria Rovera—The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna enters Rome and pillages it—Clement the VIIth obliged to pardon the Revolt--afterwards deprives the Cardinal of his Hat--excommunicates him and his Followers—George Fronsberg—Clement enters into an Agreement with the Viceroy of Naples and disbands his Troops—The Constable Bourbon attacks Rome by Storm--killed in the Assault—Rome captured and pillaged—Clement the VIIth submits to the Conditions offered him by the Emperor—Revolt of the Florentines—Niccoló Capponi elected Gonfalonier—Clement the VIIth escapes from his Confinement disguised as a Muleteer--adopts decidedly the Emperor's Interest--Treaty between him and the Emperor—Florentines prepare to support themselves—Interview between Clement the VIIth and the Emperor—Siege of Florence by the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Troops under the Command of the Prince of Orange—The Prince of Orange and Francesco Feruccio the Florentine General killed in the same Skirmish—Surrender of Florence--Change of its Government, subject to the Emperor's final Decree—Malatesta Baglione*

—Alessandro de' Medici placed by the Emperor's Decree at the Head of the Florentine Government—Marriage of Catherine de' Medici with Henry Duke of Orleans—Death of Clement the VIIth—Progress of the Reformation—Piero [illegible] Vergmilio—Institution of new Religious Orders—Capuchins—Bernardino Ochino—Theatins—Barnabites—[illegible]—Congregation of Sommasque—Machiavelli—Il Principe—Paolo di Sarpi—Pietro Aretino—Trissino—Francesco Berni.



GIULIO DE' MEDICI

CHAP. IX.

THE birth of Giulio, the natural and posthumous son of Lorenzo's brother Giuliano, the victim of the Pazzi conspiracy, has been already mentioned.—In early life he was a Knight of Rhodes and an Ecclesiastic. His cousin, Leo the Xth, raised him to the Purple, and reposed in him the greatest confidence. Many historians have believed that Giulio governed Leo, but Guicciardini, the best informed of all these writers, assures his readers that he was only the minister and faithful instrument of Leo's inclinations. On the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, the Pope appointed him Governor of Florence, and in the Conclave which followed the Pontiff's death, he was near the acquisition of the Triple Crown, which was bestowed on the Preceptor of Charles the Vth.

Giulio de' Medici.

The Conclave's choice exposed it to the raillery of the wits of Rome (*a*).—Giulio, who had at first retired on his disappointment to Florence, soon returned to Rome.—He supplanted the Cardinal Volterra in the new Pope's favour by pointing out to him the Cardinal's intrigues and secret correspondence with France; and Adrian did not afterwards act on any occasion without having consulted his Privy Counsellor on the propriety of the measure.—But Adrian's reign was short.—His austere temper had rendered him odious to the Roman people, and they waited with impatient expectation the natural and mature death of the Spiritual Father already advanced in years.—Their joy indeed when that event happened is an elogy on this last of the Ultramontane Pontiffs, and his good intentions can be no longer doubtful.—Giulio de' Medici strengthened his own powerful interest by a little simony, succeeded him in the Papal Chair, and took the name of Clement the VIIth, to shew that he had pardoned his mortal enemies the Cardinals Soderini and Colonna, and would not as a Sovereign demean himself with recollecting the injuries of an individual (*b*).

Death of Adrian.

Giulio de' Medici succeeds him, and takes the name of Clement the VIIth.

On

(*a*) "Basta ch'egli hanno fatto un Papa santo,
Che dice ogni mattina la sua messa,
E non s'el tocca mai se non col guanto."
Berni.

(*b*) The forgiveness of injuries is a certain proof of a great mind; but Clement would have been indeed unworthy to have ruled over the Christian World, if he had

On his elevation to the Pontifical Throne he was in full possession of a brilliant reputation (*c*), and was supposed to be a person of great abilities, unaddicted to pleasure, and a consummate politician.—Adrian, in the bloody conflict between the Emperor and the French King, had blindly embraced the Imperial cause. Clement proposed to himself a line of conduct more consistent with the character of their common Spiritual Father.—It was beautiful in speculation—to reduce it into practice was impossible.—From the common course of events he was soon under the necessity of ranging himself on one side or on the other. Charles was offended at his neutrality,

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forgotten one of the first articles of the moral code of Christianity, and carried into the Papal Chair a bitter recollection of his enemies. Muratori's maxim "Certo non sarà giammai degno di reggere popoli, che non sa mai perdonare," should be imprinted on the hearts of Kings.

(*c*) "O Divo Julio, o fonte di clemenza,
Onde'l bel nome di Clemente hai tolto."
Le Api del Ruccellai.

Guicciardini seems to have drawn his character with his usual impartiality.—"Grandissima certamente per tutto il mondo era l'estimatione del nuovo Pontefice, però la tardità della eletione, maggiore che già fusse accaduto lunghissimo tempo; pareva ricompensata con l'havere posto in quella sedia una persona di somma autorità, et valore, perche haveva congiunta ad arbitrio suo la potenza dello stato di Firenze alla potenza grandissima della Chiesa, perche haveva tanti anni a tempo di Lione governato quasi tutto il Ponteficato, perche era riputato persona grave, et costante nelle sue deliberationi, et perche essendo state attribuite a lui molte cose ch'erano proceduta da Lione; ciascuno effermava esso essere huomo pieno d'ambitione, d'animo grande, et inquieto, et desiderosissimo di cose nuove; alle quali parti aggiungendosi l'essere alieno da i piaceri, et assiduo alle facende, non era alcuno che non aspettasse da lui fatti estraordinarii, et grandissimi."

Guicciardini, lib. 15. 442.

trality, and insinuated to him that he should consider him as his enemy if he did not prove himself to be his friend.—Francis on his first entrance into Italy appeared to have some decided success, and he laid siege to Pavia.—The Roman Pontiff, apprehensive of the Emperor's despotism on any addition of his power, and deceived by these appearances of success which had already attended the French troops, hastily concluded a treaty with the French Monarch, who took under his protection both the Florentine and Ecclesiastical territories.—The news of the treaty soon reached the Emperor's ears—he vented his rage on the Pope's conduct, and his Holiness had soon reason to lament the precipitancy of the fatal step he had taken. Francis was made prisoner under the walls of Pavia, and his misfortune defeated both his projects and those of his ally, and put an end to all the political enterprises which they had in view.

Francis the Ist defeated at Pavia.

Charles seemed at first to bear with moderation the advantages he had already reaped by his arms, and the tide of good fortune which had poured in upon him; but Europe was alarmed—Italy trembled—Venice was in a strange state of perplexity—and nothing could equal the Pope's embarrassment.—Human prudence, without the gift of prophecy, could not have divined a more critical or distressful situation. The Ecclesiastical States were open on every side, and his patrimony had not a single fortress to defend it. The blind veneration for the Holy

Clement the VIIth's embarrassment.

See had been considerably weakened, and the Roman people had not the personal attachment to their Sovereign which is usually found under an elective government.—In addition to these circumstances the Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not wholly extinguished, whilst the great Barons continued in their proud and haughty species of independence, till Sixtus the Vth boldly shivered it into pieces with his iron pastoral crook.—Florence, and the private interests of the Medici family, were exposed to the same danger.—The passage of Charles the VIIIth had given the Florentines eighteen years of liberty—they now burned with ardour to establish it, and a knowledge of their disaffection gave Clement perhaps the most serious of all his alarms.—The choice of two different measures lay before him: to settle his differences with the Emperor on the best terms possible, and at any price, or to put himself at the head of the Italian powers to oppose his further progress.—Abilities are often nothing without a dignity of soul to govern their exertions and direct them. Great actions originate in a greatness of mind.—Clement, whose courage was not equal to his understanding, took the route which he apprehended was the most secure. The Viceroy of Naples was in want of money, and listened very readily to the Roman Pontiff's overtures. A treaty was soon concluded between them which cost the Pope an immense sum of money, drawn principally from the Florentines, and the other Italian States were reduced to the same destructive method of providing for their safety by loans or subsidies. Such a system is the most ruinous system—it is an expedient that procures only a temporary succour, and plunges the nation that adopts it into additional embarrassments, and still greater misery (*a*)! Peace is not afterwards to be preserved on honourable, or bought on easy terms; for the person that has it in his power, whether it be the Emperor of Germany or the Dey of Algiers, is hourly enabled to raise the price of what he has to sell, and insist on the purchase at whatever sum he fixes.

Joins the League against the Emperor.

Italy had long felt the pressure of its yoke, and in the very act of submission had sighed and murmured.—Excessive oppression awakened the sentiment of liberty, and the outrageous insolence of the victorious troops again kindled the flame of war.—Venice and the Duke of Milan were obliged to join the Regent Louisa.—Clement the VIIth had no great confidence in her offers from the persuasion that she would not hesitate a moment to sacrifice Italy to recover her son; but the despotic severity of the Spaniards, and the ferocity of the Germans compelled him to join the league in spite of his fears and apprehensions. His first effort was an attempt to seduce one

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(*a*) In the words of one of our most elegant modern Authors, whose learning is only to be equalled by the goodness of his heart, "It were devoutly to be wished that no late event might have verified the severe observation of an ingenious French writer, 'que les sotises de nos devanciers sont perdues pour nous!'"

one of the ablest of the Emperor's Generals, and if he had succeeded in it he must have rendered the allies the most important service.—The distant prospect of the Crown of Naples had been shewn to the Marquis of Pescara, and in order to overcome his conscientious scruples the opinions of a multitude of casuists were carefully transmitted to him, which proved to demonstration he would be guilty of an enormous crime against Heaven if he did not take up arms against his master.—Pescara at last refused the offer, but as he at first accepted it, or pretended to accept it, his sudden death has left his real intentions in dubious obscurity.

Charles the Vth, on this formidable league against him, was afraid of his enemies becoming too numerous and powerful, and he released the French Monarch, who signed whatever was desired of him. On his return into his own kingdom Clement sent an Envoy to him to sound his dispositions, and the Ecclesiastical Agent found him less delicate than one of his ancestors on a similar occasion, and determined to consider the treaty of Madrid as void, from its having been extorted from him during his confinement. France in fact became the first power of the league. The views of the Allies were to establish and strengthen Francesco Sforza in the possession of the Milanese, to restore every thing to its situation before the war, and to procure the liberty of the French King's son by a ransom. The conquest of Naples was included in some secret articles, and there were particular stipulations that related to it. The King of England undertook for his assistance, and the State of Florence also joined in the alliance.

Francesco Maria Rovera.

After a long delay the Italian army marched to the relief of the castle of Milan, under the command of Francesco Maria Rovera, who had been stripped of his Dutchy of Urbino by Leo the Xth, and recovered it on his death. Rovera had not an hour to lose, but his want of confidence (*b*) in the Italian troops laid him under the necessity of waiting too long for the Swiss auxiliaries who were in motion to join him, and the moment in which he might have been almost sure of victory had slipped. Even his advantages were in the end unproductive, and rather prejudicial to the cause of the Confederates, as they gave the Spaniards time to fortify Milan, into which the Constable Bourbon had thrown himself. The castle was at length reduced to the last extremity, and the Duke of Urbino had the misfortune to see it surrender under his own eyes. Sforza obtained the permission to retire, but a ruined ally could only be an incumbrance.

Such an unfortunate opening of the campaign increased Clement's

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(*b*) " Stimando forse più, che non era giusto, la virtù delle genti Spagnuele, et Tedesche, et diffidando smisuratamente de' soldati Italiani."

Guicciardini, lib. 17. 10.

Clement's fears and apprehensions, and particularly as Francis the Ist, instead of taking an active and vigorous part, had scarcely given the Allies any support. Affairs however were not in a state of desperation, when a singular incident completely blasted all their future prospects. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna renewed the attempt of his ancestor Sciarra against Boniface the VIIIth, and at the instigation of the Imperial agents entered Rome at the head of four thousand men. Finding no resistance he advanced towards the Vatican.—Fear, when it has reached a certain degree, sometimes produces the same effect as courage, and the first idea of the Father of the Church was in his pontifical habits boldly to meet his rebellious children (*c*), but the remonstrances of his friends prevailed on him to retire to the castle of St. Angelo.—Colonna's troops pillaged St. Peter's and the Vatican, and extraordinary as the spectacle was, the Roman people gazed on it with indifference and without concern. Ugo de' Moncade, the Emperor's Minister, paid the Pope a hasty visit, and in the commanding tone of a conqueror insisted both on Clement's recalling the Ecclesiastical forces from Lombardy, and pardoning the authors of the revolt against him. These were severe terms, but the Roman Pontiff was obliged to submit to them.

The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna enters Rome, and pillages it.

Clement the VIIth obliged to pardon th revolt.

Released

(*c*) "Ire ipsum et opponere Majestatem Imperatoriam debuisse, cessuris ubi Principem longâ experientiâ, eundemque severitatis et munificentiæ summum vidissent," (*Taciti Annal. lib.* 1. *sect.* 46. *tom.* 1. 41. 4*to. Paris*, 1771), was the advice once given to Tiberius.

Released from his immediate enemies Clement was still in dreadful perplexity.—Was he to adhere to an agreement forcibly extorted from him by the most odious and outrageous violence, or to break through it at the risk of opening before him a deeper gulph into which he might be speedily precipitated?—The eternal influence of fear endeavours to protract a determination in any dangerous or dubious circumstances, and can only bring itself to decide when decision is no longer to be avoided.—Clement hesitated as long as it was possible to hesitate, and at last protesting against the shameful violence that had been offered to him, deprived the Cardinal of his Hat, and fulminated a sentence of excommunication against him and his followers, but the news he received immediately afterwards again augmented his anxiety and distress.—The Imperial troops in Lombardy were in such a miserable state as to give the Allies great hopes of being able to overpower, or ruin them entirely, when George Fronsberg, one of the Emperor's warmest partisans, and a most inveterate enemy of the See of Rome, arrived with fourteen thousand Germans to reinforce the Constable Bourbon. This Fronsberg, in the spirit of the times, was a religious as well as military enthusiast, and he carried in his bosom, and shewed occasionally a golden cord, that was intended to strangle the Roman Pontiff, in his idea the common enemy of his master the Emperor, and of Christ (*d*).—Rovera, unable possibly to oppose

Deprives the Cardinal of his Hat—excommunicates him and his followers.

George Fronsberg.

(*d*) " Extento tantum medio digito, validissimum quemque firmo innixum vestigio pose a body of superior forces, contented himself with harassing it, or appearing to harass it in its march, and Fronsberg joined the Spanish troops shut up in Milan.— Such a reinforcement destroyed at once the balance that had been long vibrating between the contending powers.

Clement, now more alarmed than ever, seriously opened a treaty with the formidable Aristocracy, but the Imperial Ministers contrived to entangle him in a long and tedious negotiation. Independent of being duped in this manner, he was himself still irresolute, seeing, at one moment, no hope of safety without an unqualified submission to the Emperor's wishes, and, in the very next, with the most romantic contradiction aspiring to the conquest of Naples. The hour at length arrived when he could no longer fluctuate. A decisive measure was not to be deferred, and he entered into an agreement with the Viceroy, who came to Rome to sanction it with his presence.—Clement, in the fullest security, disbanded all his troops, and conveyed the intelligence of the agreement to the Constable Bourbon, but the arch rebel had laid his plan, and his troops refused any obedience to the Viceroy's orders.—Bourbon traversed Tuscany, and approached Rome.—Urbino left him the road open.—The

Clement enters into an agreement with the Viceroy of Naples, and disbands his troops.

Viceroy

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facilè dimovebat. Eo diri voti impetu in Italiam descendit, ut se Clementem, tanquam Cæsaris hostem, laqueo suspensurum truculentâ voce profiteretur; laqueum auratum, quem sinu gestabat, crebrò depromens et ostentans, quo in sacrosancti viri teterrimo supplicio homo nefarius atque impius uteretur." *Paul. Iov.*

Viceroy quitted Rome under the pretence of meeting the Constable, who fixed on a place of rendezvous, to elude the visit, where he did not mean to attend, and in the mean time neglected nothing to impose upon the Roman Pontiff, and to lull his suspicions to rest.—Clement, however, very inconsistently with his former timidity, now discovered a firmness of mind that did him some little honour, prohibited the people from flying or removing their effects, and took every necessary precaution that the time would admit of for his defence; but the hostile troops, by a forced march, were already under the walls of Rome, and the danger was both imminent and pressing.

The Constable Bourbon attacks Rome by storm—killed in the assault.

Bourbon ordered the city to be stormed. The assault was immediately given, and the first musket-shot from the walls laid the Constable dead upon the ground (*e*). His

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(*e*) "Ferito nel principio dell' assalto d'uno archibuso, cadde in terra morto." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 50.—"La Ferron says," as Mr. Wraxall states, "that the Constable still breathed when the city was taken; that he was carried into Rome, and there expired.—It is certain that he died at two o'clock in the morning of Monday the 5th of May, 1527, at thirty-eight years of age.——Of a temperate and steady courage, ever master of itself, he was calculated by nature for command, and capable of the most arduous military achievements. No General of his age possessed so fully the art of conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and moulding them to all his purposes. Munificent and liberal where prudence required it, he was naturally an œconomist. Silent, thoughtful, and inclined to taciturnity, he did not cultivate the arts of ingratiating himself; but wrapped in a haughty virtue, which disdained to stoop even to the honourable means of acquiring favour or popularity, he refused to owe any thing except to his own personal merits.—Qualities of this na-

His troops, animated with the spirit of revenge from the death of their leader (*a*), carried the city after a slight resistance.—Clement might have saved himself, but the Constable's death had afforded him the deceitful hopes of being able to repulse the enemy, and he shut himself up along with thirteen Cardinals in the castle of St. Angelo.—The horrors are neither to be described nor paralelled to which the Capital of the Christian world taken by assault was abandoned.—Tottila, nine hundred years before, treated it with less barbarity (*b*), though he had sworn

Rome captured and pillaged.

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ture are not calculated to raise their possessors in Courts, and least of all were they so in that of Francis the Ist. *Wraxall's History of the Kings of France, vol.* 1. 258. 207. 8*vo.* 1785.)—Cellini lays claim to the merit of directing the shot against the Constable, but he pretends also to the same honour afterwards on the death of the Prince of Orange.—We may safely disbelieve one and doubt of both.—*Life of Benvenuto Cellini, vol.* 2. 127—147.

(*a*) "Montant le premier sur la muraille, il y mouru avec un tel regret de ses gens, que de rage, pour venger sa mort ; ils ne laissirent jamais de crier : Carne, Carne ; sangre, sangre ; Bourbon, Bourbon ; et de tuer jusques à ce qu'ils en fussent las et non pas saouls, (hasta à non hartarse) dit le mot Espagnol."

Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 4. 168.

(*b*) "Entrati dentro cominciò ciascuno a discorrere tumultuosamente alla preda, non havendo rispetto non solo al nome de gli amici, et all'autorità, et dignità de' Prelati, ma etiandio a'Templi, a Monasteri, alle reliquie, honorate dal concorso di tutto il mondo, et alle cose sacre, però sarebbe impossibile non solo narrare, ma quasi imaginarsi le calamità di quella Città, destinata per ordine de' Cieli a somma grandezza, ma etiandio a spesse direttioni : perche era l'anno DCCCCLXXX. che era stata saccheggiata da Gotti : impossibile à narrare la grandezza della preda, essendovi accumulate tante ricchezze, et tante cose pretiose et rare di Cortigiani, et di mercatanti : ma la fece ancora maggiore la qualità, et il numeio grande de' prigioni, che s'hebbero à ricomperare con grossissime taglie, accumulando ancora la miseria, et la infamia, che molti Prelati presi da soldati massimamente de' fanti Tedeschi,

sworn on his buckler to extinguish the Roman name.—The combined army under the command of the tardy and perfidious Duke of Urbino slowly marched to its support, yet he neither approached it, nor made a single effort to take advantage of the disorder of the Germans, who flushed with victory had plunged into every species of debauchery.—The Viceroy was wholly engaged in his fruitless endeavours to supplant the Prince of Orange. The army was however too much devoted to him to listen to the Viceroy's suggestions, and they chose him general in the room of Bourbon.—Clement, without any hopes of assistance, made his peace with the Emperor, and was compelled to agree to conditions as rigid as they were humiliating. He engaged to pay four hundred thousand ducats—to put the ports and fortresses in the Ecclesiastical states into the possession of the Imperialists—and when he had even subscribed to these disgraceful and disadvantageous terms he had not recovered his liberty. He was to remain a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo till the payment of the first part of the stipulated

Clement the VIIth submits to the conditions offered him by the Emperor.

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che per odio del nome della Chiesa Romana, erano crudeli, et insolenti, erano in su bestie vili con gli habiti, et con le insegne delle loro dignità menati à torno con grandissimo vilipendio per tutta Roma, molti tormentati crudelissimamente, ò morirono ne' tormenti, ò trattati di sorte, che pagata che hebbero la taglia, finirono fra pochi dì la vita. ——— Sentinansi i gridi, et l'urla miserabili delle donne Romane, et delle monache, condotte a torme da soldati per satiare la loro libidine, potendo veramente dirsi essere oscuri à mortali giudittii di Dio, che comportasse che la castità famosa delle donne Roma ne cadesse per forza in tanta bruttezza, et miseria."

Guicciardini, *lib.* 18. 51.

lated sum, and was afterwards to go to Gaeta, and there wait the future pleasure of the Emperor (*c*).—The Spaniard and Catholic Sandoval has acknowledged this was not a holy work, "obra no santa."—There is not a Protestant that would not consider it as the most flagitious perfidy!

Fortune seemed to have exhausted her rage on Clement, and to have left nothing to be added to his humiliation or distress. He felt, notwithstanding, most sensibly what passed at Florence. Perhaps he reposed with confidence on the elasticity of the Pontifical staff, which had often bent but had never broken; perhaps he had a presentiment, that the storm, however violent, would be of short duration; or he might have a predilection for the government of his native city, and more attachment to the private interests of the Medici Family.

Bourbon

(*c*) "Il quale finalmente destituto d'ogni speranza, convenne il sesto dì di Giugno con gli Imperiali quasi con quelle medesime conditioni, con le quali haveva potuto convenire prima. Che il Pontefice pagasse all'esercito ducati quattrocento mila, cioè centomila di presente, che si pagavano di danari, argento, et oro, rifuggito nel Castello, cinquantamila fra venti dì, dugento cinquantamila fra due mesi, assegnando per il pagamento di questi una impositione pecuniaria da farsi per tutto lo Stato della Chiesa. Mettesse in potestà di Cesare per ritenerlo quanto paresse a lui Castel Sant' Angelo, le Rocche d'Ostia, et di Cività vecchia, et di Cività Castellana, et le Città di Piacenza, di Parma, et di Modona. Restasse egli prigione in Castello con tutti li Cardinali, che erano seco tredici, insino, a tanto che fussero pagati i primi centocinquantamila, poi andassero a Napoli, ò a Gaetta per aspertare quello, che di loro determinasse Cesare." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 53, 54.

Revolt of the Florentines.

Bourbon had threatened the capital of Tuscany before he filed off for Rome.—The Florentines had been provoked by the enormous contributions levied on them by the two Popes of the House of Medici; for if these Spiritual pastors had shorn their other flocks, those of Florence had bled beneath their shears, and they seized the opportunity of throwing off their yoke, on the supposition that Clement was personally obnoxious to the Imperial army, whilst pillage and plunder were its real objects. The younger part of the citizens immediately armed, made themselves masters of the place, overpowered the magistrates, and forced them to declare Hippolito and Alessandro the Pope's nephews enemies of the state (*d*), whom the Pope had placed at the head of the government under the care and direction of Silvio Passerino the Cardinal of Cortona.

Passerino was frightened beyond conception, and fled with

(*d*) "Essendo in Firenze grandissima sollevatione d'animo, et quasi in tutto il popolo malissima contentezza del presente governo, et instando la gioventù, che per difendersi, secondo dicevano, da' soldati, i Magistrati concedessero loro l'arme publiche innanzi se ne facesse deliberatione il dì vigesimo sesto nato nella piazza pubblica certo tumulto quasi a caso, la maggiore parte del popolo, et quasi tutta la gioventù armata, cominciò a correre verso il Palagio pubblico, et dette fomento non piccolo a questo tumulto, ò la imprudenza, ò la timidità di Silvio Cardinale di Cortona. ——— Spargendosi per la città lui essere fuggito, furono molto più pronti a corti à correre al Palagio; ilquale occupato dalla gioventù, et piena la piazza di moltitudine armata, costrinsero il sommo Magistrato à dichiarare rebelli con solenne decreto Hippolito, et Alessandro nipoti del Pontefice." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 48, 49.

with his two pupils, though as the Duke of Urbino approached Florence with the combined troops he returned and every thing resumed its former appearance. The authority of the Medici was again established, and if a person of any resolution or strength of mind had been intrusted with the government, it is very probable he might have retained his power. Passerino did not even look danger in the face. The sack of Rome gave a new turn to affairs, and the enemies of the Medici resumed their projects and their spirits.—Passerino convoked an assembly of the people, abdicated the government, and only stipulated that the Medici should not be exiled (*e*). When he had agreed to these ignominious conditions he left Florence with his two pupils, but he had no sooner reached Lucca, than he saw the cowardice and folly of his conduct, and he weakly endeavoured to delay the surrender of the different fortresses which he had promised to deliver to the insurgents.—Niccoló Capponi, a person of great prudence and moderation, was elected Gonfa-

Niccolo Capponi elected Gonfalonier.

(*e*) "Come vi fu la nuova della perdita di Roma, il Cardinale di Cortona impaurito per trovarsi abbandonato da' Cittadini, che facevano professione d'essere amici de' Medici, non havendo modo senza termini violenti, et straordinarii di provedere a'danari, nè volendo per avaritia mettere mano a' suoi, almeno insino a tanto che s'intendesse il progresso de gli eserciti, che andavano per soccorrere il Pontefice, non lo movendo alcuna necessità, perche nella città erano molti soldati, et il popolo spaventato per l'accidente seguito dell'occupatione del Palagio, non havrebbe havuto ardire di muoversi deliberò di cedere alla fortuna; et convocati li Cittadini, lasciò libero loro l'amministratione della Repubblica, ottenuti certi privilegii, et esentioni, et facoltà a'nipoti del Pontefice di stare come Cittadini privati in Firenze."
Guicciardini, lib. 18. 54.

Gonfalonier; yet neither his prudence nor his moderation had any influence on the Florentines. With a wild and impetuous resentment they demolished the statues of the two Popes of the House of Medici, and declared eternal war against the family, without detaching themselves from the league in which Clement the VIIth had prevailed on them to join.

Whilst these events passed at Florence, the Imperial Eagles continued to prey upon the Roman Carcass, and both the Spaniards and Germans lived in every licentious indulgence, and uncontrouled by any orders, those of their own will and pleasure alone excepted.—France and England at last awoke out of their torpitude or slumber, and taking up the Pope's quarrel warmly insisted on his release.—Lautrec conducted a very powerful army into Italy; Genoa, Alexandria, and Padua surrendered, but the Pope still remained in prison, and under the apprehensions of being removed to Gaeta he laboured incessantly to prevent this last misfortune (*f*).—If we are to believe the Jesuit Tursellini, the Roman Pontiff wrote to the Lady of Loretto a letter filled with the most tender reproaches, and he had the address to gain over to his interest the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, his former declared

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(*f*) "Desideravano i Capitani condurre il Pontefice à Gaetta con li tredici Cardinali, che erano con lui: ma egli con molta diligentia, con prieghi, et con arte procurava il contrario." *Guicciardini*, *lib.* 18. 56.

Clement the VIIth escapes from his confinement disguised as a Muleteer.

clared enemy (*g*).—His release was at last determined.—Fearing, however, a fluctuation in the Viceroy's sentiments, Clement took the advantage of a dark night, when his centinels had relaxed a little of their usual vigilance, and escaped in the dress of a common muleteer (*h*).

In spatterdashes and a coarse frock this Vicegerent of Omnipotence pursued his journey to Orvieto, and there contemplated and collected the shattered remains

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(*g*) Guicciardini has stated very fully the Roman Pontiff's political exertions and intrigues. "Nè mancava il Pontefice a se medesimo; perche tirò nella sentenza sua Hieronimo Morone, il consiglio del quale era appresso gli Imperiali in tutte le deliberationi di grande autorità, conferito il Vescovado di Modona al figliuolo et promesso à lui certi frumenti suoi, che erano a Corneto di valore di più di dodeci mila ducati ma non con minore industria si fece propitio il Cardinale Colonna, promessagli la Legatione della Marca, et dimonstrandogli quando venuto a Roma l'andò a visitare nel Castello, di volere essere a lui principalmente debitore di tanto beneficio, et artificiosamente instillandogli ne gli orecchi, che maggiore gloria, ò che maggiore felicità potesse desiderare, che farsi noto à tutto il mondo essere in potestà sua deprimere i Pontefici, in potestà sua quando erano annichilati, farli ritornare nella pristina grandezza, dalle quali cose commosso quel Cardinale elatissimo, et ventosissimo per natura aiutò prontamente la sua liberatione, credendo fusse cosi facile al Pontefice liberato dimenticarsi ditante ingiurie, come facilmente gli haveva prigione raccomandata humilissimamente con preghi et con lagrime la sua liberatione."

Guicciardini, lib. 18. 62.

(*h*) Guicciardini's account of the Pope's recovery of his liberty is somewhat different. "Essendo spedite tutte le cose, et stabilito che il nono dì di Decembre dovessero gli Spagnuoli accompagnarlo in luogo sicuro, egli temendo di qualche variatione per la mala volontà che sapeva havere Don Ugo, et per ogni altra cagione, che potesse interrompere la notte dinanzi uscito segretamente al principio della notte in habito di mercatante del Castello, fu da Luigi da Gonzaga solduto de gli Imperiali, che con grossa compagnia di archibusieri aspettava ne' Prati, accompagnato insino a Montesiascone: dove licentiati quasi tutti li fanti, Luigi medesimo l'accompagno insino a Orvieto: nella quale Città entrò di notte." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 63.

mains of his fallen state, which envy ceased to think even worthy of her notice.—Buried, as it were, under his own ruins, and attended only by a council of five Cardinals, who had escaped by the chimneys of the rooms in which they had been confined, a contemptuous pity was the sentiment which his forlorn situation appeared naturally to inspire.—Clement's distress and humiliation had exceeded that of any of his predecessors since the days of Constantine, but by rare and singular good fortune he rose again at once, and recovered immediately and almost miraculously his Capital, his states, his authority, his temporal and spiritual grandeur, and even the reputation of a consummate politician.—Such a memorable example proves that dejection and despair alone render great disgrace and great misfortune often irretrievable.

Lautrec, seeing the Pope now at liberty, pressed him to renew his connections with the allied Powers, and he might reasonably have expected to have found him enraged against the Emperor, and ready to oppose his measures. But Lautrec had deceived himself, and could extort nothing from Clement but uncertain answers or vague excuses on the principles of his inability to comply with his inclinations.—As the French general advanced towards Naples, the Imperial army was under the necessity of evacuating Rome.—As soon as Clement the VIIth had derived this essential advantage from the French troops, he was less cautious of concealing his intentions,

tentions, and declared very decidedly against being a party to the league.—Perfectly master of his own passions, and faithful to his own interests, instead of being blinded by resentment, he calmly contemplated what lay before him, and endeavoured to attach the Emperor, as he had occasion for his support in the restoration of the Medici Family at Florence.—To accomplish it insensibly and with less difficulty, he concealed his intentions under the mask of the profoundest dissimulation, and appeared merely to wish the Florentines would again acknowledge his Ecclesiastical authority, and give up the persecution of his friends. The new Republic was, however, too quick-sighted to be imposed on in this manner, and suspecting the snare that was laid for it, was on its guard against even Clement's moderation.

Adopts decidedly the Emperor's interest.–Treaty between him and the Emperor.

Lautrec's fatal catastrophe, and the defeat of the French army before Naples, determined the Roman Pontiff to throw himself into the Emperor's arms, who was equally desirous from many motives of a reconciliation. A treaty was concluded between them at Barcelona on very advantageous terms for the Pope, and the Emperor, as a pledge of his sincerity, gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's nephew Alessandro; and in favour of the alliance undertook by force, if force was necessary, the restoration of the Medici Family at Florence.

Francis the Ist was also anxiously desirous of recovering

ing his son, who still remained as a hostage in the Emperor's hands, and eagerly wished for peace. He signed soon afterwards a treaty for that purpose at Cambray, submitted to very rigorous conditions, and engaged to interfere no further in the affairs of Italy.

Charles the Vth had now no longer his formidable rival to oppose him, and he turned his whole attention towards the accomplishment of the treaty of Barcelona.—The Prince of Orange was directed to march into Tuscany, to form a junction with the Ecclesiastical troops, and to act in concert with the Pope.—Clement had flattered himself with the hopes of success on very easy terms, but the Florentines prepared for a vigorous defence.—Amidst their military precautions they did not omit any thing likely to be of service to them; and they sent a deputation to the Emperor, who had landed at Genoa and had been called to Italy on his own concerns.—Charles received the Florentine envoys with great reserve and coolness, referred them to the Pope, and by that reference sufficiently explained his views.—Venice likewise abandoned the new Republic; but the French King, notwithstanding his fresh engagements, secretly encouraged it, less with the idea of affording any succours of consequence than through an apprehension of setting the Emperor too much at liberty.

The Florentines prepare to support themselves.

Italy in general now tasted the sweets of peace.—Florence lence had the whole weight of the contest to support, every movement was directed against its territories, and the Prince of Orange conquered without much difficulty the greatest part of Tuscany.

Interview between Clement the VIIth and the Emperor.

The Roman Pontiff and the Emperor wished for another interview.—Rome might have suggested some unpleasant sensations, and the injuries the former had received and the latter had occasioned within the compass of its seven hills, might have been recollected with mutual reproaches or mutual regret. Bologna was therefore fixed on for the meeting, and the Emperor there received the Imperial Crown from the Roman Pontiff's hands.—An old French author has entered into a detail of this interview.

“ Avant y aller, il y eut aucuns de ses favoris qui lui
“ dirent qu'il seroit bien étonné qu'en faisant sa submis-
“ sion au Pape, il lui feroit l'affront que fit l'un de ses
“ prédécesseurs à l'Empereur Fréderic, et lui mettroit le
“ pied sur la gorge, en récompense de ce qu'il l'avoit fait
“ prendre, et tenir prisonnier si longtems. A quoy ré-
“ pondit l'Empereur, s'il se jouoit à cela, je lui donne-
“ rois de l'épée si étroit sur l'oreille, qu'il s'en ressou-
“ viendrait pour jamais, et l'endormirois pour un long-
“ tems ; et pourtant, y songeant un peu, et ne voulant
“ étre pris sans gantelet, il alla par devers lui, non en

“ petit Prince s'humiliant; mais en vrai Empereur arrogant, et avec telles forces, qu'il fit plus de peur au Pape, que le Pape à lui, &c. &c.

“ Pour retourner encore à notre grand Empereur, quand il fut joint au Pape, il se mit à genoux, et lui baisa les pieds, et puis s'étant levé, il lui baisa la main; le Pape aussitôt (les siens lui ayant levé son mytre par derrière) le baisa à la joue. Cela fait, l'Empereur se remit encore à genoux, et le Pape avec un grand geste de faveur (ainsi dit l'histoire) le pria de se lever, et étant ainsy, il vint un de la suite de l'Empereur, qui tira une pièce d'or, de la bourse de drap d'or, qui la donna à l'Empereur, laquelle il offrit au Pape, lui disant, Pere Saint, graces soyent rendues à Dieu de là-haut, qui m'a concédé tant de grace, que je sois venu ici en toute sureté à baiser le pied de V. S. et être reçu d'Elle bénignement plus que je ne mérite, et par ainsi je me mets dès ores en votre sauvegarde. Quels mots fins et rusés que voilà, et quelle sauvegarde; puisque le Pape étoit en la sienne, et qu'il étoit le plus fort. De mesme en fit le loup, qui feignant d'estre chassé et d'avoir peur, se vint rendre en la sauvegarde de sa commère, madame la chèvre, et après la mangea, car elle vouloit faire de la galante avec lui. Mais notre Empereur ne fit pas de même sur le dernier point, et ne faut pas douter pourtant, que, si le Pape eût voulu abuser de son autorité, l'Empereur ne l'eût fait sauter haut comme une

“ mitaine, et voilà pourquoi il fut très sage et bien advisé “ de s'estre bien accompagné.”

“ Aussi fut sage le Pape, quand il lui dit, Ta Césarée “ Majesté (c'estoit un grand mot celui-là du Pape) et sa “ veue m'a esté fort désirée ; et pour ce je rends graces “ à Dieu de vous avoir veu et reçeu, non comme Elle “ mérite, et par ainsi nous nous mettons en sa garde. “ C'étoit bien dit du Pape cela de se mettre en sa garde, “ et sans feintise comme l'Empereur avoit dit la sienne, et “ par ainsy cet Empereur demeura content, n'ayant rien “ eu tant en affection que ce couronnement, pour plusieurs raisons, et principalement qu'il n'estoit qu'à demi “ Empereur, et ne l'apelloit-on que l'Esleu-Empereur, “ non pas les Espagnols, qui l'apelloyent fort bien ‘ Em- “ ‘ perador’ tout à trac, sans le mypartir.”

If the Emperor had on this occasion made use of the expression “ Non tibi sed Petro,” Clement perhaps would not have replied “ Et mihi et Petro,” like the haughty Alexander the IIId to Frederic Barbarossa.

Siege of Florence by the Imperial and Ecclesiastical troops under the command of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Orange pressed the siege of Florence, where the treacherous Malatesta Baglione commanded, who had been employed with more confidence by the Florentines, as his father had been put to death by Leo the Xth in the conspiracy of the Cardinal Petrucci.— Baglione held a secret correspondence with the enemy from

The Prince of Orange and Francesco Feruccio killed in the same skirmish. Surrender of Florence.

from the first attack, but the citizens were determined on a defence to the last extremity.—Francesco Feruccio, one of those great and extraordinary characters that accidents or public convulsions draw from obscurity to display their virtues and their talents, signalized himself by his bravery and military genius. He was ordered to protect an escort of provisions, and on the road he was attacked with a superior force by the Prince of Orange. This little combat was obstinately disputed, and both the Generals fell in the action (*a*).—Florence was however soon reduced to the last distress, and was under the necessity of capitulating.

Change of its Government. Subject to the Emperor's final decree.

The conditions were specious in appearance, in reality the unfortunate citizens were at the mercy of the conquerors. An enormous contribution was levied on them, every thing that had passed was to have been buried in oblivion, and the Pope and city to authorise the Emperor to declare within the space of three months a new form of government without prejudice to their liberties.—Baglione was to retain possession of the city in the interval, with two thousand men under his command; but as soon

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(*a*) Guicciardini reports that Feruccio, who had been taken prisoner, was put to death after the action, as he had himself previously hung a trumpeter sent with a flag of truce. "Che così prigione fù ammazzato dal Maramaus per sdegno, secondo disse, conceputo da lui quando nell' oppugnatione di Volterra fece appiccare uno Trombetto mandato in Volterra da lui con certa imbasciata."

Guicciardini, lib. 20. 105.

soon as the capitulation was signed an Apostolical Commissary entered Florence, and Malatesta surrendered it into his hands.—An assembly of the people was immediately convoked, which elected twelve citizens attached to the House of Medici, and they restored every thing to its antient situation, till the Emperor published his award.—Imprisonment, punishment, and exile followed, and multiplied as usual (*b*).

Malatesta Baglione.

The character of Malatesta is authorized by the concurrent testimony of a crowd of historians, yet there are writers who have spoken more favourably of him, and pretend that the Florentines repaid his services with neglect, and recompensed him with ingratitude. They tell us that on his death-bed he called for his son, and asked him, "whether, if he should ever have it in his "power to be useful to the State, he would not expect an

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(*b*) "Malatesta Baglione ——— lasciò la città libera in arbitrio del Pontefice, dove, come furono partiti tutti i soldati, cominciarono i supplicii, et le persecutioni de' cittadini; perche quelli, in mano de' quali era pervenuto il governo, parte per assicurare meglio lo Stato; parte per lo sdegno conceputo contra gli autori di tanti mali, et per la memoria dell' ingiurie ricevute privatamente, ma principalmente, perche così fù, benche lo manifestasse a pochi, la intentione del Pontefice, interpretarono, osservando forse la superficie nelle parole, ma cavillando il senso, che il capitolo, per il quale si prometteva perdono a chi havesse ingiuriato il Pontefice, et gl' amici, suoi, non cancellasse le ingiurie, et i delitti commessi da loro nelle cose della Republica, però messa la cognitione in mano de magistrati, ne furon decapitati sei de' principali altri incarcerati, et relegatine grandissimo numero, per il che essendo indebolita più la Città et messi in maggiore necessita quelli che havevano participato in queste cose, restò più libera et più assoluta, et quasi regia la potestà de' Medici in quella Città." *Guicciardini*, *lib.* 20. 105, 106.

"an adequate return for his services?" The young man having answered in the affirmative by a nod, "Very well, "my son," said the father, "then never serve a Republic."

Alessandro de' Medici placed by the Emperor's decree at the head of the Florentine Government.

After a delay of some months the Emperor's declaration appeared, which prescribed to Florence the same Government it had enjoyed under the Medici.—The patent placed Alessandro at the head of the Government, which was to extend to his son and legitimate posterity in a direct line, and on its failure to his next relations.

It was thus by insensible degrees that the House of Medici arrived at the Sovereignty of Florence.—Though the two Popes of that family had in fact contributed to its elevation, there would be still an error in supposing it had risen by pure Nepotism.—This abuse in the Court of Rome has been much decried in the other parts of Europe, notwithstanding family influence is more or less felt in every country, the happy one of Utopia excepted, where the virtuous citizen, on his election to the Supreme Magistracy, finished his functions as an individual the moment he was honoured with the voice of the public.

There are indeed three kinds of Papal families which should be attended to in the History of Modern Rome; those which the exaltation of one of the family has raised out of obscurity, and from the very dust of the earth; those who previous to such an honour had some rank or distinction, as the Cibo, the Borgia, Aldrovandi, Barberini, Pamphili, and a multitude of others; and lastly, the House of Savoy, the Colonna, the Ursini, and the Medici, who conferred as much dignity on the Triple Crown as they received from it.

The great point of the restoration of the Medici being at length secured, the warm friendship which had lately subsisted between the Emperor and Clement the VIIth began to cool.—These two Sovereigns had another interview, but their respective interests, (and it is by their interests that Kings are ruled), had changed, and the views of the two Powers were now very different. Charles was desirous of a Council to appease the troubles in Germany. The bare name of a Council shocked Clement, and he eluded a compliance with the Emperor's request under various pretexts. The Emperor wished also to get rid of a vast army, and pressed the conclusion of an alliance of all the Italian States to oppose the French arms, if they made any fresh attempt on Italy.—Clement saw with reluctance the formation of this league, but it was out of his power to prevent it.

Marriage of Catherine de' Medici with Henry Duke of Orleans.

The marriage of Catherine de' Medici was a third point on which Charles and Clement differed. The Emperor wished her to marry Sforza, whilst nothing was more opposite to the Roman Pontiff's wishes. He had listened with too much eagerness and pleasure to the French Monarch's overtures for her marriage with Henry Duke of

Orleans, second son of Francis the Ist, and a meeting to settle the nuptials had been fixed between them. Marseilles was the place, and his Holiness (*a*) there bestowed his

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(*a*) This interview produced, Monsr. Tenhove observes, the following facetious anecdote, which is related in the Annals of Acquitain, where Brantome found it: "Il y eut trois Dames, belles et honnètes veuves, lesquelles pour les douleurs, ennuis et tristesses qu'elles avoyent de l'absence et des plaisirs passez de leurs maris, vinrent si bas et si fort atténuées, débiles et maladives, qu'elles prièrent M. d'Albanie, qui avoit bonne part aux graces du Pape, de lui demander dispense pour les trois de manger de la chair les jours défendus. Le Duc d'Albanie le leur accorda, et les fit venir un jour fort familièrement au logis du Pape, et pour ce en advertit le Roi, et qu'il lui en donneroit le passe-tems, et lui ayant découvert la baye, estant toutes trois à genoux devant S. S. Mr. d'Albanie commença le premier, et dit en Italien, que les Dames n'entendoient point; Père Saint voilà trois Dames veuves belles et bien honnètes, comme vous voyez, lesquelles ne veulent pour rien du monde aller en secondes nopces, pour ne faire tort à leurs marys et enfans, et parceque quelquefois elles sont tentées des aiguillons de la chair, elles supplient très humblement Vt S. de pouvoir avoir approche des hommes hors mariage, si et quantes fois qu'elles seront en cette tentation. Comment, mon cousin, dit le Pape, ce seroit contre les commandemens de Dieu dont je ne puis dispenser. Les voilà, Pere Saint, disoit le Duc, s'il vous plait les ouir parler."

"Alors l'une des trois prit la parole, et dit; Père Saint, nous avons prié Mr. d'Albanie de vous faire requeste très humble pour nous autres trois, et vous remontrer nos fragilitez et débiles compléxions. Mes filles, dit le Pape, la requeste n'est nullement raisonnable.

"Les dictes veuves, ignorantes de ce que lui avoit dit Mr. d'Albanie, repliquèrent: Père Saint, au moins qu'il vous plaise nous en donner congé trois fois la semaine. Comment, dit le Pape, de vous permettre le péché de luxure? je me damnerois. Les dictes connaissant alors la fourbe, dirent; nous ne parlons pas de cela Père Saint, nous demandons de manger de la chair, les jours prohibez. Là-dessus le Duc d'Albanie leur dit, je pensois que ce fût de la chair vive. Le Pape entendit la raillerie, et se prit à sourire, en disant, mon cousin vous avez fait rougir ces honnètes Dames. Le Roi en rit bien fort avec le Pape, lequel après leur avoir donné sa bénédiction, leur octroya le congé qu'elles demandoyent, et s'en allèrent très contentes." *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 3. 519.

My female readers, who understand French, may probably smile; the fair ones who are yet strangers to this almost universal language may perhaps be spared a blush.

his benediction on this inauspicious union.—Every profession of friendship and regard was lavished by the two Sovereigns on each other, and Clement returned to Rome with honour and with glory.—By his address and industry he had extricated himself from the most deplorable situation, and the most piteous distress. He had been courted by Princes and Monarchs, and he had procured the most honourable establishment for his family. This last achievement was the most flattering, because it became almost a forlorn hope.—The rudder was again firmly in his hands, and the bark of St. Peter, of which he was the pilot, was no longer ungovernable, but obeyed the most trifling impulse that he chose to give it.—To complete his happiness a long life was only wanting. He survived (*b*) however but a little while his interview with Francis the Ist, and left the Pontifical Tiara to Alessandro Farnese (*c*), who took the name of Paul the IIId. During

Death of Clement the VIIth.

(*b*) Guicciardini hath left us Clement the VIIth's portrait in great strength of colouring. "Morì odioso alla Corte, sospetto a' Principi, et con fama più presto grave, et odiosa, che piacevole: essendo riputato avaro, di poca fede, et alieno di natura da beneficare gli huomini; però benche nel suo Pontificato creasse trent'uno Cardinali, non creò alcuno per sodisfattione di se medesimo, anzi sempre quasi necessitato, eccetto il Cardinale de' Medici, il quale oppresso allhora da pericolosa infermità, et in tempo che morendo, lasciava i suoi mendichi, et destituti d' ogni presidio, creò più tosto stimolato da altri, che per propria et spontanea elettione; et nondimeno nelle sue attioni molti grave, molto circonspetto, et molto vincitore di se medesimo, et di grandissima capacità, se la timidità non gli havesse spesso corrotto il giudicio." *Guicciardini, lib.* 20. 112.

(*c*) Age and infirmities have been generally powerful recommendations to a wa-

Progress of the Reformation.

During the Pontificate of Clement the VIIth, the Reformation made great progress in Germany. The Court of Rome had seen with pleasure the violent opposition that Luther had met with amongst some of his own friends, and it flattered itself that the ridiculous, and even profane tenets of the first Anabaptists would have inspired a horror of any future innovations, and brought back the wandering Members of the Holy See into the bosom of the Church.—But the Court of Rome was disappointed.—Luther succeeded in restoring one half of his countrymen to their sense and understanding, and many of their neighbours happily caught the infection of the times, and got rid of a great part of that superstition which debases the beautiful simplicity of true theology, whilst it occasions a misconception of, and a disgust at Religion, the first consolation of human life.

England, the antient tributary to the Court of Rome, and which shook off the yoke under Clement the VIIth, was the greatest loss the Papal Monarchy had yet suffered.—This inestimable blessing however flowed from a corrupted source, the passions and the violence of a capricious

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vering or divided Conclave. The elder Cardinals flatter themselves with another speedy vacancy, and greater chance of promotion; the younger see with pleasure every fresh step that brings them nearer the Papal Chair. "Concorsero," says Guicciardini on this election, "i Cardinali più volentieri ad eleggerlo, perche essendo già nell' anno sessagessimo settimo della sua età, et riputato di complessione debole, et non bene sano, laqual opinione fu aiutata da lui con qualche arte, sperarono havesse ad essere brieve Pontificato." *Guicciardini, lib.* 20. 112.

cious tyrant (*d*). Such indeed was Henry the VIIIth, notwithstanding some good qualities that he possessed, though even those few royal virtues have been disputed by many of the Ecclesiastical historians.—Julius the IId was not certainly well versed in the page of futurity, when he thought of stripping the French King of the titles of "His Most Christian Majesty," and "The eldest Son of "the Church," to vest it by a decree of the Lateran Council on Henry the VIIIth. For a long time indeed he had been furiously attached to the Holy See, but after he had abandoned it he introduced successively more than one equivocal religious Creed into his kingdom, and it became literally the Island of Confusion in Rabelais.—The Roman Catholics who have accused Clement the VIIth of precipitancy, in his sentence of excommunication, reason from the event, and have forgotten that Henry's conjugal atrocities were less causes than occasions

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(*d*) "When Love could teach a Monarch to be wise,
And Gospel-Light first dawn'd from Anna Bullen's eyes."

So Mr. Gray thought and beautifully wrote.—In Lord Ossory's Park at Ampthill, there is also the following inscription:

"In days of yore here Ampthill's Tow'rs were seen,
The mournful refuge of an injur'd Queen!
Here flow'd her pure but unavailing tears,
Here blinded zeal sustain'd her sinking years;
Yet Freedom hence her radiant banners wav'd,
AND LOVE AVENG'D A REALM BY PRIESTS ENSLAV'D.
From Catherine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,
AND LUTHER'S LIGHT FROM HENRY'S LAWLESS BED."
H. W.

sions in that important revolution.—Human passions are but instruments,

"Διος δ' ἐτελειετο βȣλη."

Piero Martyro Vermiglio.

Piero Martyro Vermiglio, a Tuscan, had a great share in the Reformation in England, and the Father Jesuit Negri has dissected him with great acrimony. "The "blackness of this rebel to the Faith," he observes, "serves only as the shade in a picture, as a contrast to "the splendour of many of his countrymen. Florence "gave him birth, where he studied, but vanity or folly, "or both, turned his head, and overpowered his understanding, so that he quitted Italy, renounced the antient and holy order which he had professed, and even "the Catholic Religion. The Apostate travelled afterwards into many heretical countries, and losing all "sense of modesty and decency, established a professional chair, and read lectures at Strasbourg, Oxford, "and Zuric, where he was detested by the heretics themselves, and died miserably. As he had taught he wrote, "and he left many impious commentaries on the Holy "Scriptures (*e*)."

Shameful

(*e*) "Servirà il nero inchiostro di questo ribelle della fede come l'ombre alle pitture per far meglio spicare il candore di tanti e si numerosi suoi concittadini scrittori. Nacque e studiò in Firenze, ma, fosse o vanità, o insania, o l'una e l'altra, che gli guadagnò con l'intelletto, la volontà, lasciata l'Italia incontrò la grande sfor-

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Shameful and virulent observations, when founded only on falsity, injure the cause meant to be defended by them, and Father Negri's polemical style is highly censurable for its violence and extravagance.

Clement the VIIth was desirous of opposing some mounds to the flood of Reformation that was so fast pouring in upon him, and he created or approved of many new Religious Orders, from whom he expected great and important services (*f*).—The Capuchins, those Faquirs of the West, or Modern Cynics, were established in his Pontificate, and composed of the reformed minor brothers of the seraphic St. Francis.—Metteo de Bassi and his brethren

Creation of new Religious Orders—Capuchins.

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tuna d'essere sedotto, e d'abandonnare non solo l'antichissimo e santissimo ordine claustrale, in cui aveva professato, e le regole e le dottrine, ma la stessa religione Catolica, traversando in qualità d'apostata molte città eretiche, e perduta colla sinderesi ogni erubescenza, alzò catedra di falsi dogmi sotto nome di sagre lettere in Argentina, in Ossonio, e poscia in Zurigo, ove ostinato ne suoi errori, esoso agli stessi eretici, pessimamente morì. Accompagnò alla lingua la penna, scrivendo qual era da empio, moltissime opere e commenti sopra la Sagra Scrittura."

(*f*) Giannoni, who thought with Freedom and wrote with Integrity, has described the previous labours, and the ſpirit of the CHURCH MILITANT under its DOMINICAN and FRANCESCAN GENERALS. "In queſti medesimi tempi a favor della Chiesa Romana sursero que' due gran lumi, Domenico, e Franceſco, i quali colla lor santità resisi chiari da per tutto, fondarono le Religioni de' Predicatori, e de' Frati Minori, e furono piante cosi fruttifere, che i loro rampolli multiplicarono in guisa, che in breve si vide piena Europa di tanti VALOROSI COMMILITONI, i quali non risparmiando nè fatica, nè travaglio esponendosi ad ogni periglio, COMBATTERONO VALOROSAMENTE PER LI ROMANI PONTEFICI." *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, lib.* 15. *cap. ult. tom.* 2. 365. 4*to.* 1723.

thren experienced at first many trials and tribulations, but Clement the VIIth attended very favourably to their request, and by a bull of separation dated at Viterba, 5th of the Nones of July, permitted them to live sequestered, and to wear their beards with the pyramidical cowl. This Order was however on the point of expiring on its very foundation. Their second General, Father Bernardo Ochino, a Tuscan, and a native of Sienna, as well as a celebrated preacher, married a Protestant of Geneva, and his innocent spiritual children were nearly involved in his apostacy. The Church of Rome supposed a pure stream could not flow from a turbid scource, and that infected branches must naturally shoot from a corrupted root. From the defection of the General of the Order the Pope determined to abolish the Capuchins, but their docility, their humility, and simplicity, saved them.—Envy was itself disarmed.—A Capuchin, perhaps, may not appear at first an object of much envy, yet of all the Religious Orders they are in possession of the greatest establishments, and notwithstanding they have not been much celebrated for their knowledge, their religious brethren have looked with longing and with jealous eyes upon them.—The Abbé St. Pierre, who is of opinion that human knowledge is regularly advancing, has said pleasantly, "the hour is fast approaching when "the Capuchin will be as learned as the Jesuit, and the "peasant as learned as the Capuchin,"—Yet it is to one of these

Bernardo Ochino.

these honest Fathers that France owed its Lettres de Cachet, introduced in the bloody administration of the Cardinal de Richelieu (*a*).

Bernardino Ochino was of a very dubious character, and at last became obnoxious to the reformed Church into which he had entered. We have many of his works, principally composed of Dialogues. There is a considerable degree of orthodoxy and theology in them, with a mixture of strange and particular opinions, and whilst we are pleased with the former, the latter render both his understanding and his integrity rather questionable.—In his Twenty-first Dialogue he gives his sentiments on polygamy, and endeavours to justify it on various pretences, and to authorise it by the examples of the Patriarchs.—On the publication of these facts he was expelled the Swiss Ministry.

Theatins.

The regular clerks or Théatins date their Order likewise from Clement's Pontificate.—They had been established by St. Gaetan and by Caraffa who succeeded to the Papal See under the name of Paul the IVth, and as he was then Bishop of Chieti or Theate (as it is called by Latin writers), the new Order received the name of Theatins. It is not a numerous Order but a very opulent one, and

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(*a*) Pere Joseph, the Cardinal de Richelieu's confidential friend.

and the essence of the institution consists in a total denial of earthly things.—"Search ye first the Kingdom of Heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you" seems to be its first dogma.—This Order is, however, considered as a seminary of Bishops, and an asylum for the first nobility and families of rank. Their rules lay them only under trifling restraint, have nothing of austerity or mortification in them, and their habit differs only from that of the Jesuits, in the colour of their stockings.

Bernardins.

The Bernardins were also founded under Clement the VIIth.—The author of "the Ouranology" or "the Heavenly Divinity of the Religious Orders" supposes the Jesuits to be placed in the centre of the Spiritual world like the sun in the Copernican system—that the Theatins and Bernardins supply the place of Mercury—and that this planet is so much absorbed in the sun's rays as to be scarcely visible.—The celebrated Father Frisi, one of the first geometricians of Europe, is at present of this Order.

Regular Congregation of Sommasque.

The regular congregation of Sommasque between Bergamo and Milan had also its origin under Clement's reign.—It is wholly devoted to the instruction of poor children, and the Father Della Torre belongs to it, so well known through Europe by his knowledge of every part of philosophy, the arts, and letters.—If Fortune is disposed to reward the merit of Father Piaggi his associate,

ate, or bestow her favours on his scholars, literature may expect important services from them.—Father Piaggi invented the method of unrolling the Herculanean manuscripts.

Clement the VIIth established in 1531 the Inquisition in Portugal and the Portuguese settlements in India, where it has exercised its inhuman powers in a dreadful manner, if the account of the transactions at Goa are entitled to any credit.

Louis Alamandus was beatified by Clement the VIIth, notwithstanding he died excommunicated by Eugenius the IVth, and he had a companion in Pierri de Luxembourgh who died also in schism. These two instances are very embarrassing for the Ultramontane casuists, and prove that schismatics according to the doctrine of the Church may have a claim (*b*) to beatification and pretend to eternal happiness and glory.

Clement the VIIth had in common with his ancestors of the House of Medici a taste for the arts, the sciences, and letters, but though he cherished and protected them, they were still exposed to the misfortunes of his reign. These tender plants survived with difficulty the fury of storms

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(*b*) *Launoi, Epist.* 2. *part.* 1. *p.* 79.

storms that rapidly succeeded each other, and the nightingale almost ceased to sing under the vulture's talons.

Machiavel.

We have some remaining poetry by Machiavel, but instead of considering him as a sweet and inoffensive nightingale, from his black and dusky character and his piercing eye he may be ranged more properly with the birds of prey.—This celebrated secretary of the Florentine republic under Piero Soderini was indisputably one of the profoundest of modern writers. His knowledge however was not equal to his genius and natural abililies.—Monsr. Grosley seems to have taken a view of him wholly on the favourable side when he says, "Both Machiavel and Boccacio are the less to be omitted among illustrious foreigners, the Florentine disposition being a mixture of the two authors."

Machiavel's excellent history of Florence was dedicated to Clement the VIIth, and is almost equal to any writing of antiquity. It is astonishing in what a close and nervous style he both relates the events which passed during the period of which he treats, and reasons on them. The first book in particular that includes the fall of the Western Empire is a perfect model for every historian who wishes boldly to soar above occurrences and take a view of them from a lofty and elevated station.—Leonardo of Arezzo and Poggi employed themselves on foreign history, Machiavel applied himself to the study of the intestine divisions of his own country.—Conspiracies appear to be his natural element, and he wanders from the plan he had proposed to himself, to delineate at length those, which cost the third Sforza and second Duke of Milan of that name, his life.—His profound dissertations on the first Decade of Livy are not of very considerable extent, but they have more matter than is often found in many ponderous volumes.—Yet the Reader should be on his guard, and should carry with him a strength of mind superior to the influence of the opinions he may meet with, and above seduction.—Two great men of our days and also two great thinkers Montesquieu and Hume appear to have read and studied the Florentine Secretary with peculiar attention.—Amongst his lesser works there is the Life of Castruccio Castracani, Lord of Lucca and the Imperial Vicar in Italy, which warmly interests the Reader. It is, however, an imitation of the Cyropædia, and the leading facts alone are to be found in history.—Machiavel embroidered in fact the work, and enriched it with a number of its most beautiful ornaments.—Villani, who never strayed into the regions of romance, represents Castruccio Castracani as valiant, magnanimous, prudent, penetrating, diligent, laborious, and intrepid, and consequently happy and successful in his enterprises and undertakings.

Machiavel's treatise on the Art of War is a masterpiece.—To give more weight to his precepts and theory, he has supposed them to come from Fabricio Colonna, a distinguished military officer, but this little artifice could not have succeeded, if the work had not been recommended by its own intrinsic merit. It is indeed the first regular system of military tactics, and it endeavours to restore that ancient discipline, which Vegetius believed to have been given to the Romans by the Gods.—Count Algarotti accuses Puysegur, Follard, and Marshal Saxe of borrowing very frequently ideas from Machiavel without acknowledging his right to them.—Bellay de Langey's famous work on military discipline, instead of being artfully stolen from that of the Florentine historian, is almost wholly taken from it, and almost a fourth of it is a mere translation of the Italian.

Two of Machiavel's comedies have been already mentioned, His Belphegor or the Devil's Marriage is universally known by La Fontaine's happy imitation of it, where he has softened down with inimitable grace the ruder masculine strength of the original.

Within these few years the Florentine Secretary's admirable project for the reformation of the government of Florence by the order of Leo the Xth has been published for the first time, and his zeal for the liberty and freedom of his country is visible in every page (*c*).—The outward

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(*c*) *Baretti's Edition, 4to. London, 1772.*

outward appearance of sovereignty with all its attendant pomp and majesty, according to his plan, was to have been wholly vested in the Medici, whilst the real power was artfully contrived to rest with the people.—Leo the Xth saw through the design.—Machiavel was applauded, but from that moment ceased to be consulted.

Il Principe.

Of Machiavel's "Il Principe" or the Prince, what ideas are to be formed, and what are to be our opinions of the author?—Baretti, his last editor and a person of abilities, though an absurd and enthusiastic admirer of him, has not scrupled to consider him as one of the best of men. There are others who have not thought so disadvantageously of him as the world in general, and apply to him the Italian proverb "Satan is not wholly black (*d*)," which Machiavel himself versified. They suppose the Prince to be a continued strain of bitter irony rather than a code of perfidy, and that its author from a passionate regard for liberty (*e*) had laid open and exposed

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(*d*) "Quel che vede lo diavol da dovero,
Lo vede con men corna e manco nero."

(*e*) "Machiavellus Democratiæ laudator et assertor, acerrimus, natus, educatus, honoratus, in eo Reipublicæ statu, Tyrannidis summæ inimicus fuit. Itaque Tyranno non favet: sui propositi non est Tyrannum instruere; sed arcanis ejus palam factis ipsum miseris populis nudum et conspicuum exhibere." *Adam. Rupert.* (*ex Alb. Gentil*) *Dissert. ad Val. Maximum, lib.* 1. *cap.* 2, 3.

"Je dirai, que Machiavel, qu'on a fait passer par tout pour un Maitre de Tyrannie, l'a detestée plus que pas un homme de son tems, ainsi qu'il est aisi de voir par le chapitre 10 du premier de ses discours, où il parle tres fertement contre les Tirans." *Amelot de Houssaie, Preface de la Traduction du Prince.*

sed the secret springs and horrid mysteries of tyranny, to overwhelm it with the public infamy and indignation. —Yet it seems impossible to subscribe seriously to this opinion. Exclusive of the destructive maxims which are scattered more or less through all the Florentine Secretary's works, perhaps not a single trace of this supposed irony is to be discovered. Numerous as the excellent reflections are in this treatise, it must still be reckoned a most flagitious work, and one at which every virtuous mind must instantly revolt.—Nothing is so superb as the genius of Machiavel, nothing appears so horrid as his heart.—Hobbes and Machiavel, under the false and foolish pretext that the well-being of society has nothing in common with the well-being of the individual, which consists in virtue, have established their mode of government on fraud, despotism, injustice, and irreligion.—Such a theory is intolerable.—Infamous in private life are men collectively to be rigid moralists, and are we to expect a second legislator of Salentum with the sage politics of Mentor?

It is not in the power of Casuistry to conceal or palliate the infamy of the following infernal sentiments.

" It (*f*) should be remembered, that we ought either to
" keep upon good terms with others, or to crush them
" utterly if they are once provoked: because if the injury

(*f*) " Perchè si ha a notare, che gli uomini si debbono o vezzeggiare o spegnere, "that is done them be but a slight one, they are left in a "capacity to return it; but if it is done to the purpose, "it will not be in their power: so that when a man re-"solves to injure another, he should do it in such a man-"ner as to cut off all possibility of revenge (*a*)."

"The (*b*) desire of acquisition is indeed very common "and natural to mankind; and when they attempt no-"thing more than they are able to perform, they will al-"ways be applauded, or at least not condemned for it: "but when they are not equal to the enterprises they en-"gage in, and still persist in them, they certainly de-"serve both censure and ridicule (*c*)."

After these sentiments it may be perhaps extraordinary to find a chapter "Di quelli che per scelerate sono par-"venuti al Principato," or of such as have arrived at dominion by wicked and unjustifiable means."—Speaking of

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perchè si vendicano delle leggieri offese; delle gravi non possono; sicchè l' offesa che si fa all' uomo deve essere in modo, che la non tema la vendetta." *Machiavelli. tom.* 3. 403.

(*a*) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol.* 1. 520.

(*b*) "E' cosa veramente molto naturale e ordinaria desiderare di acquistare, e sempre quando gli uomini lo fanno che possino, ne saranno laudati e non biasimati; ma quando non possono e vogliono farlo in ogni modo, quì è il biasimo e l' errore." *Machiavelli, tom.* 3. 407.

(*c*) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol.* 1. 523, 524.

of Agathocles, Machiavel observes, "A (*d*) man cannot "properly be called virtuous, who massacres his Fellow-"Citizens, betrays his friends, and has no regard to his "word and honour, or to religion and humanity: for "though indeed he may arrive at empire, he can never "acquire true glory by those means (*e*)."—Such language appears to have been dictated by the remains of involuntary conscience, which vice is scarcely ever able wholly to destroy.—Agathocles was not indeed the only person on whom the Florentine Secretary has vented his spleen; Oliverotto of Fermo came in for his share of it, but his character was notorious.—If the world has agreed in general that Machiavel is a venomous serpent, and only to be approached or handled with the greatest circumspection, it is perhaps ignorant that the celebrated Venetian theologian Paoli di Sarpi is like the bee armed also with a sting.—An allusion is not here meant to the immortal History of the Council of Trent, but to a political tract written at the requisition and by the orders of the government, in which amongst many others of the same import the following propositions are to be found.

Paoli di Sarpi.

"The first duty of a prince is to retain his situation. "—Justice

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(*d*) "Non si può chiamare ancora virtù ammazzare li suoi cittadini, tradire gli amici; essere senza fede, senza pietà, senza religione; li quali modi possono fare acquistare imperio, ma non gloria." *Machiavelli, tom.* 3. 424.

(*e*) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol.* 1. 566.

“—Justice includes in it every thing necessary for the safety of the state.—If it can be possibly avoided, a noble ought never to be condemned to death, however criminal he may have been, and if it cannot be avoided let him be put to death privately and spared the ignominy of a public execution.—If an inferior person has ill-treated a noble he is to be punished with every severity.—Subjects are to be kept as much divided and disunited as possible.—If a magistrate cannot always be elected in the Patrician interest, choice should be made of a person of mean abilities and of a worthless character.—As to the Greek subjects of Candia, provisions and correction are only necessary. When their nobles tyrannize over them, no notice should be taken of it; the eyes should be shut against their vexations that the country may be broken into separate interests. If they make any attempt to emancipate themselves, let them be most rigorously punished.—Your subjects in your Italian territories ought on every occasion to be humiliated. Whatever differences may arise amongst them, they will be in a double sense advantageous to the state. They will create divisions or disunion and confiscations for the public benefit.—Examples of moderation are the mere caprices of sovereigns. —If there be any bold or mutinous persons in the municipalities of the different cities, they should be either gained or destroyed at any price. If they are at the head of any party they must be exterminated, whatever

" may be the consequence; but supposing them to be very powerful, it will not be safe to resort to the regular " and ordinary course of justice. Let poison do the business rather than the common executioner, for the advantage will be the same and the odium will be less."

Leaving Fra Paolo to return to Machiavel, the Florentine Secretary's "Il Principe" was not added to the Index Expurgatorius till long after his death. Exceptionable as it may be, its mischief has been perhaps over-rated, and it may not have been attended with the ill effects that have been generally imagined (*f*). A total suppression of it might be useful to society, if at the same time every history of the world could be suppressed. Whilst the annals of our crimes are in every hand, it is not Machiavel's Prince that will increase their number.—Both civil and ecclesiastical history furnish a black catalogue of the same pernicious maxims reduced from theory into practice.—If Machiavel's "Il Principe" had not appeared, we should not have been able to have boasted of the Anti-Machiavel, the fruit of the youth and solitude of one of the greatest monarchs that have ever reigned. The antidote is so delicious that even the poison becomes palatable;

(*f*) Lord Bacon appears to have entertained an opinion of its use. "Est quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et ejusmodi scriptoribus, qui apertè et indissimulanter proferunt quid hominis facere solent, non quid debeant." (*De Augment. Scient. lib.* viii. *cap.* 2.).—And of this opinion was also Wicquefort.

palatable, and we swallow it with eagerness to taste the luscious medicine which counteracts its subtilty.

On Machiavel's tomb may be seen an epitaph highly to his honour:

> "Quisquis ades, sacro flores et serta sepulchro,
> Adde puer, cineri debita dona ferens.
> Hetruscæ Machiavellus honos et gloria gentis,
> Hic jacet, hoc saxum non coluisse nefas."

But on the tomb are we to look for a faithful record of the vices and the virtues of the dead?—If the style is too flattering, that of the Jesuit Possevino is not liable to this objection. He expresses his sentiments in very decided terms on the future state of the Florentine historian, and assures his Readers that on the "Evening of the "Calends of April, 1527, the impious wretch vomited "forth his cursed soul."—"Nebulo ille impius evomuit "damnatam animam (*g*)."

Notwithstanding the number of able men, who have filled the office of Secretary to the Florentine Republic, whenever the expression "Il Segretario, the Secretary," or "Il Segretario Fiorentino, the Florentine Secretary," is

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(*g*) We meet with the same charitable sentiment in another author. "Blasphemans evomuit improbum spiritum." *Th. Raynaud de bonis et malis libris, Num.* 46.

is made use of, it invariably relates to Machiavel.—In such estimation are his talents!

Pietro Aretino

Pietro Aretino, another Tuscan writer and Machiavel's cotemporary, is no less exceptionable, though on different grounds and for different reasons. The name of "Il "Divino, or the divine," has been prostituted by its addition to his own, but "Il flagello de Principi, the scourge "of princes," which he had the insolence to insert in all his works, marks very strongly the abuse of his slender abilities (*h*). Yet both these surnames have consecrated him for ever by Ariosto's use of them, where he congratulates himself on the great men who have rejoiced at his success, and cries out

> "———————— Ecco il Flagello
> De Principi, il Divin Pietro Aretino."

Instead

(*h*) Battista Tornicelli, in a letter to Aretino, observes, "Non sapete voi, che con la penna vostra in mano havete soggiato piu Principe, ch' ogni altro potentissimo Principe con l' arme? La Penna vostra à qual non mette terrore, à quale non è formidabile, à chi anche non grata; à chi non cara, ove si mostra amica! La Penna vostra si puo dir, che v' ha fatto trionfator quasi di tutti i Principi del mondo, che quasi tutti vi sono tributarii, et come enfeudati. Meritareste esser chiamato Germanico, Pannonico, Gallico, Hispanico, et finalmente insignito di quei titoli, quali si davano a gli antiche Imperadori Romani, secondo le Provincie per loro soggiate: che se quelle soggiagavano le Provincie per forza d' arme, et per esser piu di loro potenti non era gran meraviglia maggior meraviglia assai è, che un privato, inerme, naggio soggiagato infiniti potenti: che l'un potente l' altro, non è meraviglia." *Venice*, 1558. *appresso Domenico Giglio.*

Instead of despising this infamous satirist, his libels were applauded and esteemed. Flattery, presents, pensions poured in upon him, the Learned paid their court to him, and Princes and Sovereigns were solicitous to please him and obtain his favour and his friendship (*i*). Charles the Vth was his principal hero, as he was highly munificent to him the Poet praised him in very indecent and improper language. " What thanks," Aretino writes to him, " ought not I to return your Majesty, who has " conferred such obligations on me, whilst I am no more " in comparison of you than the most trifling sin to the " mercy of Jesus Christ." Francis the Ist had kept him long in expectation of a present, that he ought never to have made him, and Aretino complained with an insolence, that would not have been credible if the letter was not still existing. " Three years ago your Majesty promised " me

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(*i*) " Io mi risolvo pensando che l'umanità non debba esser in V. S. inferiore a quella divinità che se gli attribuisce, secondo me non tanto per li miracoli del suo felicissimo ingegno, quanto per la perfezione di quelle virtù, che le deifica l'animo, trà le quali è necessario che la cortesia sia grandissima, degnandomi ella di quel che con tanta ambizione de'principi si desidera, e con tanti loro tributi si premia ; cioè di offerirmisi per amico." *Arnib. Caro.*

Berni had, however, more spirit, and expressed his opinion of him very freely.

" Tu ne dirai e farai tante e tante,
Lingua fracida, marcia, senza sale,
Ch'alfin si troverà pur un pugnale,
Miglior di quel d'Achille e più calzante.

Il Papa è il Papa, e tu sei un fursante,
Nutrito del pan d'altri e del dir male.
Hai un piè in bordello, e l'altro alla spedale,
Storpiataccio, ignorante e arrogante."

"me a golden chain, and I begin to think the coming of "the Messiah, which the Jews expect, is as doubtful as "your performance of your promise. I would tell the "world that your Majesty is adorned with all the virtues, "greatness of soul, justice, clemency, and liberality, "but I fear it would be taken for irony, and I should be "accused of insincerity."

Though Pietro Aretino boasted he had tributary Princes and Kings (*k*), his libels at times exposed him to difficulties

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(*k*) Henry the VIIIth not only allowed him a pension but left him a legacy, if we are to believe the evidence of William Thomas, Clerk of the Closet to Edward the VIth, and a Prebend of St. Paul's, who was the author of "a Defence of Henry the VIIIth against the slanders of tyranny," with the following dedication to Pietro Aretino.

"To Mr. Peter Aretine the right natural Poet.

Lyke as many tymes the wyld wodds and barrayne mountaynes yeld more delite unto the seldome traveyled citizen, then do the pleasant orchardes and gardens, whose bewtye and fruite he dayly receyveth; so hath it now pleased me rather to direct this my little booke unto thee, whose vertue consisteth onely in nature without any arte, then unto any other, whome i know both naturall vertuous and learned withall, specyally because *i understand that the kynge* (in defence of whose honour i have made it) *hath remembred thee with an honourable legacy by his testament*, which his enemies pretend proceded of the feare he had lest thou shouldest after his death defame hym with thy wonted evil speach; But to let them were, that no man with right can slander hym, and to open also unto thee, parte of his worthy and glorious doyings, whereof if thou wylt, thou mayist justly speake unto his greate honour; i have in this litle worke brefely declared the most parte of such successes as have happened in his life dayes, with the occasion that thereunto moved me, and have thought good to participate unto thee, to the entent, that if any person should repugne against it, thow with the mountaigne of thy naturall reasons showldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defend it. In which doinge thou shalt partely satisfie bothe unto the verie truthe, and also unto the good memorie that so noble a kynge hath deserved of thee."

ficulties and personal danger. His famous sonnet on Marshal Strozzi

> "Mentre il gran Strozzi arma Virumque cano"

nearly cost him his life. The Marshal, who was of a character that was not to be trifled with, burst into the poet's room with an intention of sacrificing him to his resentment, and Aretino only saved himself by prayers and entreaties and a direct denial of the sonnet.

One of his most celebrated works, but as infamous as it is celebrated, is that with the title of "Capriciosi e piacevoli Ragionamenti." This shameful production is divided by days, and contains the lives of Nuns and Abbesses, married Ladies and Prostitutes. All the Florentine Females of dubious or ruined reputation pass in review, with an indecent commentary on their actions. But "Cupimus cloacas quam longissimè ab ædibus nostris abesse."

From Pietro Aretino's translation of the Psalms, it has been weakly supposed that he had seen the errors of his youth, had quitted his vicious course of life, and died a penitent (*a*), but nothing is more erroneous.—His works, in

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(*a*) On this supposition it was said of Aretino, "Ubi benè, nemo melius: ubi

CHAP. IX.

in general, are exceptionable on account of their ignorance, his pedantic style, and many imperfections of the head and heart. Few of them are now read, but his epitaph is not yet forgotten (*b*).

The

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malè, nemo pejus;" and there is an epigram on his paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms;

"Sice livre unit le destin
De David et de l'Aretin
Dans leur merveilleuse science
Lecteur, n'en sois pas empêché,
Qui paraphrase le PECHE,
Paraphrase LA PENITENCE."

Yet the following observations seem to prove that the idea of Aretino's reformation is not to be substantiated by the mere publication of his Treatises on some religious subjects. "L'Aretin ne composoit des Œuvres de Pieté, que pour exercer son imagination, et pour faire voir qu'il etoit capable de tout, pour appaiser les devots irritez contre lui, et pour s'attirer des liberaliter de la part de quelques grandes Dames, à qui il envoioit des exemplaires de ces sortes de livres. Il n'en etoit pas, pour cela plus sage, puis qu'après avoir publié sa Paraphrase sur les sept Pseaumes, et son HUMANITA DI CHRISTO, en 1535, il avisa, sur la fin de 1537 de dedier a Battista Zatti, de Bresse citoien Romain, ces postures infamés, dont on a tant parlé, au bas de chacune desquelles il avoit mis un Sonnet aussi deshonnête, comme dit M^{r}. Felibien, que les actions representées. L'Epitre dedicatoire à ce Battista Zatti se trouve dans le 1. Volume des Lettres de l'Aretin. Il paroit aussi par la peinture que cet auteur fait de ces mœurs dans la ccxc Lettre du iv Volume cinquante septieme année de son age, il n'en menoit pas une vie moins licentieuse. L'endroit où il parle de l'interruption qu'il est oblige de faire en ecrivant cette lettre, est quelque chose de fort singulier. . . . . On peut voir aussi la ccccxxxix lettre du même volume, où l'on reconnoitre qu'il faisoit profession d'une morale peu scrupuleuse."

Mons. de la Monnoie, Remarques Manuscrites.

(*b*) "Qui giace l'Aretin, amaro tosco
Del sem' uman, la cui lingua trafisse
E vivi e morti; d'Iddio mal non disse,
E si scusò col dir, io nol' conosco."

Which has been compressed in Latin:

"Condit Aretini cineres lapis iste sepultos
Mortales atro qui sale perfricuit.

Trissino.

The Prelate Trissino (*c*) of Vicenza was Clement the VIIth's train-bearer at the coronation of Charles the Vth, in

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Intactus Deus est illi, causamque rogatus
Hanc dedit, ille inquit non mihi notus erat."

And spun out in French:

" Le tems, par qui tout se consume,
Sous cette Pierre a mis le corps
De l'Aretin, de qui la plume
Blessa les vivans et les morts.
Son encre noircit la memoire
Des Monarques de qui la gloire
Est vivante après la trepas.
Et s'il n'a pas contre Dieu même
Vomi quelque horrible blaspheme,
C'est qu'il ne connoissoit pas."

(*c*) Giovanni Ruccellai attributes sentiments to him very far from orthodox, and bordering on Averroism:

" . . . . la grand' anima del mondo,
Sta come auriga, e'n questa cieca mole,
Infusa, muove le stellate sfere,
L'eterea plaga, e quel, dove si crea,
Il folgore, la pioggia, et la tempesta,
E la monstrosa machina del mare,
Su'l grave globo della madre antica.
Di quì gli uomini tutti, e gli animali,
E gli armenti squamigeri, e i terrestri,
Le mansuete bestie e le selvagge,
Picciole e grandi, reptili e alate,
Haver primo principio, haver la vita,
Havere il moto, il senzo e la ragione,
E certa providentia del futuro.
A questa ritornar l'anime nostre,
Et in questa risolversi ogni moto;
Per questo esser celeste e immortale,
L'anima in tutti i corpi de' i viventi,
E ritornare al fin nel suo principio,

in preference to many Princes who had solicited that honour. His Epic Poem on the delivery of Italy from the Goths, " L'Italia liberata da i Goti," effectually disqualifies him from the office of train-bearer to Homer, and if he ever imitates him, it is only when the great Poet slumbers.—When Prometheus stole the fire from Heaven to animate his human figure, Trissino was not certainly an accomplice in the theft.—Of all writers Trissino is the dullest and the coldest, and of him may be truly said—

> " Impetus ille jacet vatum qui pectora nutrit."

A mortal languor is spread through the whole poem, and its soporific qualities are like those of opium. Yet there is some justice to which he has a title. His works are free from the " concetti" of the times, forced conceits, a play upon words, and the absurdities which were then in fashion. But the absence of faults and blemishes is dearly purchased by the absence of elegance and every beauty.—Belisarius is the hero.—Trissino's feeble crayons were

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L'uno a le chiare stelle e l'altro al sole.
Questo si bello, e si alto pensiero,
Tu primamente rivocasti in luce,
Come in conspetto de gli umani ingegni,
TRISSINO, con tua chiara e viva voce;
Tu primo i gran supplicii d'Acheronte,
Ponesti sotto i ben fondati piedi,
Scacciando la ignorantia de i mortali."
Le Api di Giov. Ruccellai.

were not able to paint the intrepid warrior, and we must search for his likeness from the pen of Marmontel, or the pencil of Vandyke (*d*).

Trissino is likewise the author of Sophonisba, the first regular tragedy in the Italian language, which has been highly celebrated.—It is written with purity and historic truth, the three unities have been religiously adhered to, and, considering the time when it appeared, for Ruccellai was not then known, it may be styled a prodigy.—Sophonisba, however, after all, consists of long declamations, broken into sometimes by the chorus and endless recital, without action, intrigue, warmth, or passion.—The antient Greek tragedy on its revival in Italy indeed degenerated, and the Sophonisba, Rosmonda, and Orestes, have not been even in our days surpassed by any of its modern authors.—The Torismondo of Tasso, the great Tasso, is also cold, and the late translator of his Jerusalem has not been able to infuse any warmth into it from his ardent prose.

Francesco Berni.

Francesco Berni, of a noble Florentine family, and a native of Lamporecchio in Tuscany, was the author of the famous poem of the "Orlando Inamorato," a subject taken from Bojardo, and handled in such a manner that the

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(*d*) The "Date Obolum Belisario," in the Duke of Devonshire's collection, is well known.

the original has been forgotten.—Bojardo, Count of Scandiano near Modena, wrote towards the end of the preceding century; and of all the Italian poets he has the most fruitful imagination, with the richest invention.—Unfortunately his versification is poor and feeble. Berni, his imitator, is one of the present favourite poets of Italy, and breathes gaiety and grace in almost every line.—His easy flowing diction is unequalled, but to give it its last finish is said to have been for him a work of incessant labour and extraordinary pains.—D'Alembert, in his elogium of Boileau, has classed poets in three divisions:—those who have written with great difficulty laboured verses—those who have been the authors of easy verses written with difficulty—and those who have easily produced very easy verses.—Berni belongs to the second class.—Natural negligence appears sometimes like affectation, but few poets have been so much upon their guard against it as the author of the second Roland, who has copied nature rather than Bojardo.—Instead of endeavouring to represent the character necessary to be introduced, he is the character itself.—Notwithstanding the extreme length of the "Orlando Inamorato," which exceeds that of the "Roland Furioso," its lively festivity and pleasantry animate and interest the reader.—Berni has given the name to this species of poetry, which has been called after him "Il Bernesco," but the elegant original has occasioned a thousand stupid copies.—The Prelate Fortinguerra, the friend of Benedict the XIVth, and the author of Richardet, is alone to be excepted.—Berni has been sometimes called the Italian Scarron, but the husband of Frances D'Aubigné has certainly been too much honoured in the comparison.—A nice and discriminating taste is not the lot of many, but they who are blessed with this intellectual touch-stone can never confound the amiable and graceful levity of Berni with the coarse and clumsy buffoonery of Scarron.

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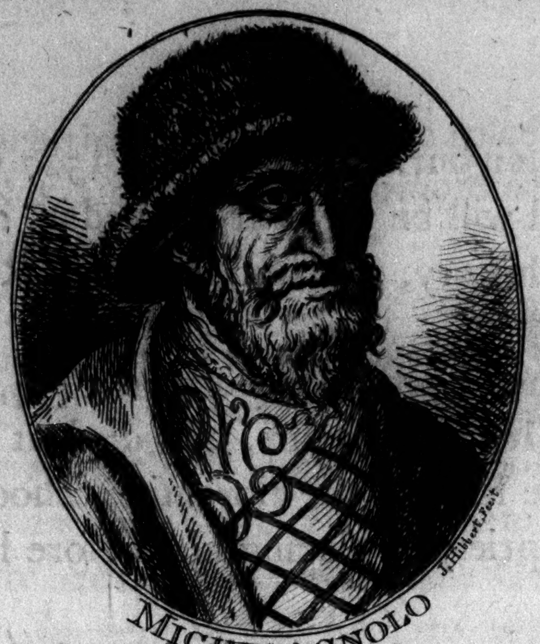
CHAP.

CHAP. X.

ADRIAN the VIth—Michelagnolo—Julius the IId—Michelagnolo's Statue of Moses—Dome of St. Peter's—His last Judgment—Il Rosso—Pontormo—Antonio Gallo—Granaccio—Montelupo—Piero Torrigiani—Clement the VIIth's Medals—Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici—marries Maddalena de Tours—Death of Lorenzo de' Medici and his Consort—Birth of Catherine de' Medici—Clarice de' Medici marries Filippo Strozzi—Character of Clarice—her exertions at Florence—Filippo Strozzi put himself at the head of the Florentine Exiles—Declared a Rebel and his Property confiscated—Surprised at Montemurlo and taken Prisoner—Puts himself to death, and leaves a Paper with his reasons for dying by his own hands—His Character—Lorenzo Strozzi—Piero Strozzi—Death of Piero Strozzi—Leone Strozzi—His Death—Roberto Strozzi—Lorenzo Strozzi—Louisa Strozzi—Pallas Strozzi—Alessandro Strozzi—Ciriaco Strozzi—Lorenza Strozzi—Giovanni Batista Strozzi, "Il Cieco"—Piero Strozzi—Carlo Strozzi—Leone Strozzi—Ippolito de' Medici—Created a Cardinal—Alessandro de' Medici placed at the Head of the Florentine Government—Death of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici—His Character—Asdrubale de' Medici.



CHAP. X.

Adrian the VIth.

IF Adrian the VIth, the predecessor of Clement the VIIth, had reigned any length of time, and old age or poison had not removed him from a world, which was not worthy of him, and for which he was not fit, what happened when the barbarians took Rome by storm might have also happened in his days.—This honest Professor of Louvaine had no taste whatever for the Arts or Sciences, and considered every picture and every statue, except a crucifixion or some other religious subject, as useless, hurtful, and profane.—He threatened to deface and destroy them, and every branch of Virtù began to droop or wither.—Another Pope was chosen out of the House of Medici, and in the same moment Letters, Arts, and Sciences recovered a portion of their former

strength

strength and vigour. Yet the year 1527 was a fatal year to them, and will be for ever marked in blacker characters in their history, and also in that of Rome.

Michelagnolo.

Michelagnolo, who was born in 1474, survived Clement the VIIth many years, and died at ninety, but as he was at the head of the Florentine school, there would be more propriety in placing him before his scholars.

To form a complete knowledge of this great artist, who was equally distinguished as a painter, a sculptor, and an architect, it will be necessary to study him minutely.

Sprung from a noble Florentine family, the antient house of the Counts de Canossa, he discovered even in his infancy his wonderful abilities in all the arts connected with drawing or design.—After living some time under the great Lorenzo de' Medici, he hurried to Rome to finish his education by the study of antiquity. The Roman Pontiff, Julius the IId, whose projects were boundless, and whose pride pretended to insure him immortality, was desirous of erecting himself a tomb that might vie in magnificence with the Mausoleums of the Antients.—Michelagnolo was employed on some statues which were intended for its ornaments, but the work remained unfinished.—The literary histories of the times are full of many pleasant little anecdotes of what passed

Julius the IId.

every day, in which the impetuosity, the spleen, and the contradiction of his Holiness were humorously opposed by the pert vivacity of the sculptor.

One of the most beautiful statues of this artist was destroyed. It was that of Julius, which only stood a few years in the great square at Bologna, and was demolished from an absurd and outrageous resentment when the Bentivoglio family became possessed of the Government. —The Sculptors in general are used to represent the Pope seated, but Julius wished to appear erect, and in the act of bestowing his benediction or his curses with one hand. Michelagnolo having proposed to put a book into the other, " Give me a sword," replied the Pope, " I am not a man of letters (*a*)."—In the same manner Commodus the son of Faustina, and a Gladiator, had a Medusa's head at the breast to give his medals a more terrible and threatening air.

The

(*a*) " Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus, talia verba refert:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit."

" Girt with a sword, the Pontiff hurls the keys
In Tiber's streams, and utters words like these:
Since Peter's keys in war's dire conflict fail,
Paul's sword, more efficacious, may prevail."
Seward's Anecdotes.

The admirable statue of our Saviour expiring on the Cross, which may be seen at the Santa Maria sopra Minerva, is one of those that will be the eternal envy and despair of all future artists. It is astonishing how the absurd fable of Michelagnolo's having crucified a person as a model should ever have been believed; yet Pergolesi, the celebrated musician, has also been accused of the same barbarous expedient to give a greater force of expression to the "Stabat Mater," one of the most perfect pieces of modern music. Almost all the lives of great men are however disfigured with tales which are not intitled to more credit.

On the subject of the sleeping Cupid we are told, in the Memoirs of the Life of the President de Thou, "that he "saw the Cupid at Mantua, in the Gallery of Isabella "Princess of Est, which was not shewn till it had been "prodigiously commended—that the whole company, "with Mons^{r}. de Thou, who had great taste, having "minutely examined it, unanimously allowed it exceeded every thing they had heard of it—that when they "had feasted their eyes with raptures on its beauties they "were then shewn another Cupid, that had been carefully "concealed under a silken covering, and was the Cupid "on which so many of the antient Greek Epigrams had "been written—that on a comparison of the statues the "spectators blushed for their former sentiments—and

" that the modern Cupid appeared a mere block of marble (*b*)."

Mons^{r}. Falconnet has criticised this anecdote, and judiciously remarked, " that if the company and Mons^{r}. de " Thou had any taste, the Cupid could never have charmed them so much, before they had seen the antient one, " supposing it to have been a mere block of marble— " that persons of taste only make comparisons on the different degrees of beauty and perfection, and can never " be so much imposed upon as to mistake a clumsy piece " of workmanship for an excellent or an animated statue " —and that the master-piece of Buonaroti, which they " had

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(*b*) " Mantuæ inter rara pleraque ab Isabellâ Attestinâ aviâ præstantis ingenii heroïnâ loco spectabili studiosè congesta, rem sibi commemoratione dignam vidisse narrabat Thuanus. Cupido dormiens e Lunensi marmore adhuc luculento, a Mich. Angelo Bonarotâ, qui architecturam, statuariam, picturam, a priscis sæculis intermortuas artes diebus nostris quasi in vitam unus revocasse creditur, sculptus, post multam operis admirandi prædicationem Foxio ostensus est; qui conspectus ab astantibus, et a Thuano ipso, qui his artibus summé delectabatur, quaquaversum curiosis oculis lustratus, omnem de eo factam antea commendationem superare videbatur. Tum, post satis diutinam admirationem ad stuporem usque spectantium provectam, quasi ex machinâ ex serico fasciolo, quo involutus erat, alter promptus, antiqui operis, et qualem tot Græcorum epigrammatum certatim in eam rem factorum mirâ arte expressum legimus; e terrâ, ut erutus erat, adhuc luteus; qui cum novo comparatus, statim effecit, ut astanteis prioris judicii summa consensione suppuderet, et antiquum quasi marmor spirans cuncti faterentur; novum tanquam lapidem jacentem iidem, qui tantoperè laudaverant, præ altero despicerent: aiebantque e domesticis nonnulli, ipsum Bonarotam, hominem inter omneis sæculi sui artifices maximè ingenuum, cum Isabellæ suum Cupidinem altero viso offerret; enixè rogasse, ut eo ordine utrumque opus spectaretur, ut eâ comparatione cuncti discerent, quantum hodierna ætas priscæ in his artibus concedat."

" had just determined to exceed every thing they had " been told of, could not in an instant have been reduced " to a mere block of marble."

The Bacchus in the Florentine Gallery, the dying Adonis, the David, and Nostra Signora della Pietà, are likewise statues which the Italians term " Precettive."—When Michelagnolo finished the last group he was criticised for having given the mother too much youth in comparison of the son. The objection he answered very seriously by the observation, " that if the virtuous part of the female " sex retain their youthful charms longer than the vicious " or galant, the Holy Virgin ought still to have even a " greater share of youth and beauty, who had never " known even an irregular desire."—Condivi, his scholar and historian, adds, " the answer would not have disgraced " the profoundest theologian (*c*)."

Michelagnolo's statue of Moses.

There is not a single statue of Michelagnolo more famous than that of Moses in the Church of Santo Pietro ad Vincula.—If the Jewish legislator, who is represented sitting, is not quite correct in the attitude, and his dress is

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(*c*) " In essa Madre ripresero alcuni l'essere troppo giovane rispetto al figluolo. Del chè ragionando io con Michel-Agnolo un giorno. ' Non sai tu, mi rispose, che le Donne caste, molto più fresche si mantengono che le non caste? Quanto maggiormente una Vergine, nella quale con cadde mai pur un minimo lascivo desiderio, che alterasse quel corpo?' ——— Conzideration degnissima di qualunque Teologo." *Condivi, Vità di Michel. Agn.*

is not strictly oriental, every connoisseur is in ecstasy at the figure, the air of the head, and the "LAW OF GOD" written so legibly on his countenance and between the eye-brows (*a*).—Zappi's beautiful sonnet on this beautiful statue is almost as much celebrated (*b*).

Vasari relates as a fact what is very improbable, that great numbers of Jews came on every Sabbath in crowds (*c*) to pay their homages to this statue, but Bottari

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(*a*) "Loi de Dieu gravée entre les sourcils."

(*b*) "Chi è costui, che in dura pietta scolto,
Siede gigante, e le più illustri e conte,
Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte,
Le labbia sì, che la parole ascolto :
Questi è Mosè : ben mel' diceva il folto,
Onor del mento, el doppio raggio in fronte.
Questi è Mosè quando scendea dal monte,
E gran parte del Nume avea in volto.
Tal' era allor, che le sonanti e vaste,
Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
Quando il mar chiuse, è ne fè tomba altrui.
E voi sue turbe un rio vitello alzaste ?
Alzato aveste immago a questa eguale,
Ch'era men sallo l'adorar costui."

(*c*) "Finì il Moïsè di cinque braccie di marmo, allaqual statua non sarà mai cosa moderna alcuna, che possa arrivare di bellezza, e delle antiche ancora si può dire il medesimo, avvegnachè egli con gravissima attitudine sedendo posa un braccio sulle tavole, che egli tiene con una mano, e con l'altra si tiene la barba, la quale nel marmo svellata e lunga è condotta di sorte, che i capelli, dove ha tante difficoltà la scultura, son condotti sottilissimamente piumosi morbidi e sfilati d'una maniera, che pare impossibile, che il ferro sia diventato pennello ; ed in oltre alla alla bellezza della faccia, che ha certa aria di vero Santo e terribilissimo Principe, pare,

tari considers it as one of Vasari's Rhodomantades (*d*).—Vasari has likewise extravagantly observed, "that the great Law-giver of the Jews might boast of being still a greater favourite with his Maker, as his scattered limbs had already been collected, and his body prepared by Michelagnolo, ready to be reanimated at the resurrection (*e*)." But "RIEN N'EST BEAU QUE LE VRAI; LE VRAI SEUL EST AIMABLE."—Yet Vasari's hyperboles may be preferable to Mons^{r}. Falconnet's severe censures.—Of all the modern writers his remarks are most acrimonious on this master-piece of art, though he does Michelagnolo the justice to admit that species of merit, in which he does not wish to rival him. Mons^{r}. Falconnet may yet live to change his sentiments if any motive should carry him into Italy. What makes such a change of opinion not improbable, is the mode of expression he makes use of, after having studied the two slaves

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che mertre lo guardi, abbia voglia di chiedergli il velo per coprirli la faccia: tanto splendida e tanto lucida appare altrui; ed ha si bene nel marmo ritratto la Divinità, che Dio haveva messo nel santissimo volto di quello. ——— Seguitino pure gli Ebrei di andare, come fanno ogni Sabato, a schiera e maschi e femmine, come gli storni, a visitarlo e adorarlo, che non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno."

Vasari, tom. 2. 727.

(*d*) "Non è ora vero, che gli Ebrei vadano a schiere a venerare questa statua, poichè ella è in chiesa presso all' altar maggiore, onde me gli Ebrei entrerebbero in Chiesa, ne vi sarebbero lasciati entrare. ——— Qui è un esagerazione del Vasari."

Bottari.

(*e*) "Moïsè può più oggi che mai chiamarsi amico di Dio, perchè tanto innanzi a gli altri ha voluto mettere insieme, e prepararli il corpo per la sua resurrezione, per le mani di Michel-Agnolo." *Vasari, tom.* 2. 727.

slaves of Michelagnolo that Marshal Richelieu brought from his country-seat to Paris. It was with enthusiasm he cried out, "I have seen Michelagnolo; he is terrific (*f*)."—A correct estimate of Michelagnolo's merit as a sculptor is best collected from Benvenuto, another great artist. "A statue," he says, "has eight points of view, and "undoubtedly some few statues are to be found where "the same attention has been bestowed on all these eight "sides, and they have been equally well finished. The "first sculptors however have usually satisfied themselves "with their success on one or two sides, but Michelagnolo carried his wishes much farther, and succeeded in "the beauty of every aspect. This is his distinctive and "characteristic merit (*g*)."

Michelagnolo was also celebrated as an architect, and the remains of his divine genius are the most beautiful ornaments of even modern Rome. She is indebted to him for the Porta Pia, and the face of the Porta del Populo,

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(*f*) "J'AI VU MICHEL-ANGE; IL EST EFRAYANT."

(*g*) "Una statua di scultura deve avere otto vedute, e conviene, che elle sieno tutte di egual bontà; il perchè avviene che molte volte lo scultore manco amorevole a tale arte si contenta d'una bella veduta, insino in due; e per non durare fatica di limare da quella bella parte, e porlo in su quelle sei non tanto belle, gli vien fatta molto scordata la sua statua, e per ognuno da dieci gli è biasimata la sua figura, girandola intorno di quello, che alla prima veduta ella si dimostra; dove qui si mostrò l'eccellenza di Michel-Agnolo per avere osservato, quanto tale arte merita, e per mostrar maggiormente la grandezze di tale arte." *Lettera del Cellini al Varchi, fra le pittoriche, T. 1. p. 13.*

pulo, towards the suburbs. On the pompous antient ruins he laid the foundation of the third Capitol, where the Warrior has ceased to have any intercourse, and has been exchanged for the Recollet. The great stair-case, which has two flights of steps, was built under his immediate direction, and the palace which now forms one of the wings of this edifice, as remarkable for its elegance as the excellence of the work, was entirely his design.—The Farnese Palace was likewise finished by Michelagnolo, and though it is not a building of vast dimensions it is one of the most magnificent in Rome. It was pretended that Paul the IIId, to supply the materials for its construction, demolished a part of the Coliseum, which looks towards the West. It is however a vulgar prejudice, and void of truth, for Marangoni in his "Anfiteatro "Flavio," and other antiquarians have clearly proved this enormous breach may be traced to the times of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

Dome of St. Peter's.

Michelagnolo inspected also the construction of St. Peter's, corrected the extravagance of Bramante, and without any disparagement to the numerous artists afterwards employed upon it, we owe to the great Florentine this Wonder of the World. The design of the dome, or aerial pantheon, which astonishes alike the connoisseur and every other person, was drawn by him with such accuracy that Giacopo della Porta built it many years after Michelagnolo's death, without having occasion to vary it in any one instance.—Some fears have lately been entertained for its safety, and it is devoutly to be wished they may be only imaginary ones. It is indeed the first work of the kind in the universe, for the domes at Constantinople, Venice, Milan, Florence, and even that of St. Paul's, are not to be compared with it. Notwithstanding the fact may startle the imagination, it has the same diameter as the Pantheon, or the Church of the Rotondo, and in short it is the " NE PLUS ULTRA" of architecture.—The illustrious Fontana remarks, " that it is in " vain to celebrate the most famous, ancient or modern, " edifices either in Rome or in any other part of the " world, every thing disappears before the immense and " majestic dome of St. Peter's."—The Pergamena, or Lantern, is of inferior merit. It is infinitely less beautiful than that of Florence, and an excellent judge has supposed it to have been the work of another hand (*h*).

Florence was, like Rome, also ornamented by Michelagnolo with many buildings, and in particular with the elegant Library and Sacristy of St. Lorenzo.—Was the Venetian bridge of Rialto built from one of his designs? —Without leaning to either side of the question the evidence shall be fairly stated. In the Gallery of his nephew,

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(*h*) " Io assolutamente non la credo fatta sul disegno di Michel-Agnolo ———."
Bottari.

phew, Michelagnolo the younger, where his whole life is represented in a set of pictures, there is an inscription under one of them signifying “that he went to Venice, where he was very favourably received by the Doge Andrea Gritti, and many of the nobility, and offered a salary if he would settle there, and that in return for the civility he presented them with a design for the bridge of the Rialto (*i*).”—This evidence appears decisive, though Francesco Sansovino, the son of the celebrated Giacopo Sansovino, in his description of Venice, re-published with additions by Signor Stringa, gives the honour of the Rialto to Scamozzi.—If we consult Scamozzi himself he enumerates the different artists who had given plans for it, without mentioning Buonaroti, and concludes with a description of two of his own designs, neither of which he adds was entirely followed.—From the whole it seems the real architect is not to be discovered of this bold and masterly bridge, which has been boasted of at Venice as without a rival in the universe.

In one of his letters the great artist considers “a knowledge of anatomy as essential for the architect, and declares that the members of architecture are similar to

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(*i*) “Andato a Venezia, ricevuto e visitato dal Doge Andrea Gritti, e da molti gentiluomini; gli è offerto stipendio, se si risolve a abitar quivi; il quale esente da ogni obbligo sa per il medesimo Gritti il disegno del ponte di Rialto.”

" those of the human body (*k*)."—It would be presumption to question the respectable opinion of such a genius. The human body may be a perfect model of symmetry, yet an attendance on a course of anatomical lectures seems unconnected with the building of a palace or a cathedral.

Michelagnolo introduced undoubtedly many novelties into the practical part of the science, and sometimes employed not only a different order from the four fundamental ones, but a different one from the antient Roman or the Composite. They who prefer the slumbers or the dreams of great men to the vigilance of inferior persons, consider only the beautiful effects of his innovations as the produce of exquisite taste and sublime genius (*l*).

—Severer

(*k*) " E cosa certa, che le membra dell' Architettura dipendono dalle membra dell' uomo. Chi non è stato, o non è buon maestro di figure, e massime di notomia, non se ne può intendere." *Lett. di Mich. Agn. fra le pittoriche T.* 1. *p.* 9.

(*l*) " Credo questô, che se i Greci ed i Romani formarono que' primi ordini, e gli ridussero a misura, e regola generale, che si possano essere stati di quelli, che l'abbiano fin quì fatto nell' ordine composto, componendo da sè dell cose, che apportino molto più grazia, che non fanno le antiche. E che questo sia vero, ne fanno fede l'opere, che Michel-Agnolo Bonaroti ha fatto nella Sagrestia e Libreria di S. Lorenzo di Firenze, dove le porte, i tabernacoli, le base, le colonne, i capitelli, le cornici, le mensole, ed in somma ogni altra cosa hanno del nuovo, e del composto da lui, e nondimeno sono maravigliose, non che belle. Il medesimo, e maggiormente, dimostro lo stesso Michel-Agnolo, nel secondo ordine del cortile di Casa Farnese, e nella cornice ancora che regge di fuori il tetto di quel Palazzo. E chi vuol veder quanto in questo modo di fare abbia mostrato la virtù di questo uomo veramente venuta dal cielo, arte disegno e varia maniera, consideri quello, che ha fatto nella fabbrica di St. Piero, nel riunire insieme il corpo di quella macchina, e

—Severer judges (*m*) have pretended, that in his departure from the chaster rules of antiquity he prepared the way for the freedoms of Borromei and the modern school.

It has been supposed that Michelagnolo's talents extended likewise to military architecture. During the siege of Florence his patriotism overpowered his friendship and his gratitude to the Medici Family, and he assisted his fellow-citizens as an engineer. His works might perhaps have saved the city, if bastions and ravelins had been proof against treason, and military science could have constructed fortifications into which silver shot and golden bombs were not able to penetrate.—Some of these works are yet remaining, and Marshal Vauban was so charmed with them when he passed through Tuscany as to take a drawing and a plan of them (*n*).—When Florence capitulated Michelagnolo concealed himself, from the apprehensions of Clement the

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nel far tante sorti di vari e stravaganti ornamenti, tante belle mondanature di cornici, tanti diversi tabernacoli, ed altre molte cose tutte trovate da lui, e fatte variatamente dall' uso degli antichi. Perchè niuno può negare, che questo nuovo ordine composto, avendo do Michel-Agnolo tanta perfezione ricevuto, non possa andar al paragone degli altri." *Vasari Proëmio.*

(*m*) Algarotti and many others.

(*n*) "Il Sgr. di Voban, uno de più eccellenti ingegneri, che abbia avuto la Francia, e che ha tanto amplificata e promossa questa arte, quando passò per Firenze, levò la pianta delle fortificazioni di Michel-Agnolo, e ne prese tutte le misure." *Bottari.*

the VIIth's resentment, but the Roman Pontiff knew the value of his talents, and soon afterwards sent for him and employed him.

It remains now only to consider Michelagnolo as a painter. No artist probably ever equalled him in design, which is the first requisition of the profession, and the foundation of the art. Without that qualification perfections in many other parts of the science will be of little consequence; with it they may be often spared. There are persons indeed who, from a contempt of his feeble colouring, and the little progress he made in the knowledge of the Clear Obscure, have refused him the name of Painter, but such sentiments are blasphemies against true taste. Michelagnolo's master-piece no longer exists, which he painted in conjunction with Leonardo da Vinci, as a companion to one of his pictures on the subject of the siege of Pisa. Condivi, Vasari, and Cellini, were eye-witnesses of the merit of both these pictures, and Cellini calls them "la Scuola di Mondo (*a*)," and adds,

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(*a*) "Un cartone fù la prima opera che Michel-Agnolo mostrò delle sue maravigliose virtù, e lo fece a gara con un altro che faceva Lionardo da Vinci, che avevano a servire per la sala del consiglio del palazzo della Signoria; rappresentavano quando Pisa fù presa da Fiorentini: e il mirabile Lionardo da Vinci aveva preso per elezione di mostrare una bataglia di cavalli con certa presura di bandiere, tanto divinamente fatti, quanto immaginar si possa. Michel-Agnolo Buonaroti nel suo dimostrava una quantità di fanterie, che per esser d'estate, s'erano messi a baguare in Arno; e in questo istante mostra, che si dia all' arme, e quelle fanterie ignude corrono all'arme, e con tanti bei gesti, che mai nè degli antichi nè da moderni si vedde opeadds, "that Michelagnolo never again rose to that pitch "of excellence (*b*)."

To acknowledge that Michelagnolo's cabinet pieces are extremely scarce is saying too little. It is believed that Florence is in possession but of a single one, the Holy Family in the Grand Duke's Gallery, which is in the highest state of preservation. It would be superfluous to make an observation on it, and Richardson has bestowed on it the highest commendations (*c*). According to the last edition of the Picturesque Description of Paris, the late French King had two small pieces of Michelagnolo, a Descent from the Cross, and the Holy Family; but Mons^{r}. Mariette thinks the Ganymede, in the collection of the Duke of Orleans, was the only one by this master in France.—England, so rich in the treasures of the Italian school, is in possession likewise but of a single one, except the famous Leda may be considered as another. This last little piece was the property of a Prince of the House of Est, and travelled from Ferrara to Fontainbleau,

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ra, che arrivasse a così bel segno a così alto: e siccome io ho detto, quello del gran Lionardo era bellissimo e mirabile. Stettero questi due cartoni, uno nel palazzo de' Medici, e uno nella sala del Papa; in mentre ch'egli stettero in più, furono la scuola del mondo. Sebbene il divino Michel-Agnolo fece la gran cappella, dappoi non arrivò a questo segno mai alla meta; la sua virtù non aggiunse mai alla forza di quei primi studi." *Vita di Cellini.*

(*b*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 39.

(*c*) *Richardson's Works.*

tainbleau, where it remained till the end of Louis the XIIIth's reign.—Noyers, the secretary of state, from some religious scruples, disfigured it with all the barbarous rage of a bigot, and Mons^r. Argenville even supposes it to have been burnt.—In the year 1740 it re-appeared in a miserable state, though the pencil of the great artist was still visible, and he seemed even to have made choice of the subject in order to rival Titian. After some attempts to repair its beauties it was carried into England where it now remains.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the connoisseur had an opportunity of judging of the full merits of the Florentine artist in the Vatican, as the Pauline and Sixtine Chapel contained the most beautiful morsels from his pencil. In the first the Conversion of St. Paul and a Crucifixion were painted in Fresco.—The recollection of them is only left (*d*).—His Last Judgment fills the whole ceiling of the latter, but the smoke from the yellow wax tapers during the Holy Week, and the smoke from the billets of scrutiny, burnt morning and evening during the Conclave, have so much blackened the colours, which were never very brilliant, that this composition, worthy of immortality, has been for many years

His Last Judgment.

(*d*) "Questi due sterminati quadri, che erano due miracoli dell' arte, sono poco meno che perduti affatto." *Bottari.*

years scarcely visible (*e*). In its present state at least this celebrated picture, instead of affording any gratification to the eye, is disagreeable and disgusting. It could never indeed have pleased more than a few persons.—The great artist had sacrificed every thing to his favourite part of the science, and from a desire of displaying in triumph the most beautiful and correct drawing, with a picturesque species of anatomy, had given to the naked flesh of his figures the most exact proportions, a rich pomp of contour, and all the hyperboles of genius.—Vasari (*f*) and his other cotemporaries, from a profound admiration of Michelagnolo's knowledge, have exalted it to the skies. Salvator Rosa (*g*) and De Piles, followed by a crowd of modern writers, have censured it with an acrimony almost inconceivable.—This picture, in a melancholy

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(*e*) " Tutta questa gran volta, e le altre pitture ad essa adiacenti, sono annegrite di mala maniera pel fumo delle torce della Capella Pontificia, particolarmente della settimana santa, in cui si adoperano torce di ciera galla, aggiuntovi il fumo cagionato dall' abbrucciamento delle schedole nel tempo del Conclave, il quale abbrucciamento si fa mattina e sera ; benchè a questo hanno poi, ancorchè tardi, trovato riparo. Oltrechè la volta è tanto alta, che al presente del piano della capella, poco o niun construtto ne può ricavare chi la volesse studiare ; quindi è, che niuno mai vi ho veduto a disegnarla." *Bottari.*

(*f*) " Questo nel' arte nostra è quello esempio, e quella gran pittura mandata da Dio a gli uomini in terra, acciochè veggano, come il fato fa, quando gli intelletti dal supremo grado in terra discendono, e hanno in essi infusa la grazia e la divinità del sapere. Questa opera mena prigioni legati quelli, che di sapere l'arte si persuadono." *Vasari*, 748.

(*g*) " O Michel-Angiol, non vi parlo in guoco ;
Questo, che dipingeste, è un gran Giudizio,
Ma del Giudizio voi ne avete poco."

Satire di Salv. Rosa.

lancholy style of colouring, without any appearance of a knowledge of the Clear Obscure, without variety of expression, fantastically composed, and licentious in its perspective, is notwithstanding in one point of view one of the first pictures in the world (*h*). There are still other

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(*h*) Vasari has given a copious description of it :—

" In quella di continuo lavorando, in pochi mesi a ultima fine la ridusse, dando tanta forza alle pitture di tal opera, che ha verificato il detto di Dante : ' Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi ;' e quivi si conosce la miseria de i dannati, e l' allegrezza de' beati. Onde scoperto questo Giudizio, mostrò non solo essere vincitore de' primi artefici, che lavorato vi avevano ; ma ancora nella volta, che egli tanto celebrata aveva fatta, volle vincere se stesso, e in quella di gran lunga passatosi, superò se medesimo ; avendosi egli immaginato il terrore di que' giorni, dove egli fa rappresentare per più pena di chi non è ben vissuto, tutta la passione di G. C. facendo portare in aria da diverse figure ignude la croce, la colonna, la lancia, la spugna, i chiodi, e la corona con diverse, e varie attitudini molto difficilmente condotte a fine nella facilità loro. Evvi Cristo, il quale sedendo con faccia orribile e fiera a i dannati si volge, maladicendogli non senza gran timore della nostra Donna, che ristrettafi nel manto ode, e vede tanta rovina. Sonvi infinitissime figure, che gli fanno cerchio di Profeti, di Apostoli, e particolarmente Adamo, e S. Pietro : i quali si stimano, che vi sien messi l' uno per l' origine prima delle genti venute al giudizio, l' altro per essere stato il primo fondamento della cristiana Religione. A' piedi gli è un S. Bartolommeo bellissimo, il qual mostra la pelle scorticata. Evvi similmente uno ignudo di San Lorenzo ; oltra che senza numero sono infinitissimi Santi, e Sante, e altre figure maschi, e femmine intorno, appresso, e discosto ; i quali si abbracciano, e fannosi festa, avendo per grazia di Dio, e per guiderdone delle opere loro la beatitudine eterna. Sono sotto i piedi di Cristo i sette Angeli scritti da San Giovanni Evangelista con le sette trombe, che sonando a sentenza, fanno arricciare i capelli a chi gli guarda, per la terribilità, che essi monstrano nel viso ; e fra gli altri vi son due Angeli, che ciascuno ha il libro delle Vite in mano, e appresso non senza bellissima considerazione si veggono i sette Peccati mortali da una banda combattere in forma di diavoli, e tirar giù allo inferno l' anime, che volano al Cielo con attitudini bellissime, e scorti molto mirabili. Nè ha restato nella resurrezione de' morti mostrare al Mondo, come essi dalla medesima terra piglian l' ossa, e la carne : e come da altri vivi ajutati vanno volando al Cielo : che da alcune anime già beate è lor porto ajuto ; non senza vedersi tutte quelle parti di considerazioni, che a una tanta opera, come quella, si possa stimare che si convenga ; perchè per lui si è fatto studi, e fatiche d' ogni sorta, apparendo egualmente per tutta

other objections to it, and both the absurdity of the artist's imagination and satirical indecency are equally exceptionable.—Jovial Monks and beautiful naked females are not the most proper objects in such a terrible scene, and the mixture of fabulous history is also very inconsistent.—Cerberus, Minos, and Charon, with their respective attributes, have no relation to the Christian Revelation.—The painter without doubt copied Dante's example, whose imagination was somewhat similar, and imitated him as Phidias and Apelles imitated Homer.—The Christian Hell is neither picturesque nor poetical, and

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l' opera, come chiaramente, e particolarmente ancora nella barca di Caronte si dimostra; il quale con attitudine disperata l' anime tirate dai diavoli giù nella barca batte col remo ad imitazione di quello, che espresse il suo famigliarissimo Dante, quando disse,

> ' Caron demonio con occhi di bragia,
> Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie:
> Batte col remo qualunque si adagia.'

Nè si puo immaginare, quanto di varietà sia nelle teste di que' diavoli, mostri veramente d' inferno. Nei peccatori si conosce il peccato, e la tema insieme del danno eterno. E oltra a ogni bellezza straordinaria è il vedere tanta opera sì unitamente dipinta, e condotta, che ella pare fatta in uno giorno, e con quella fine, che mai minio nessuno si condusse talmente. E nel vero la moltitudine delle figure, la terribilità e grandezza dell' opera è tale, che non si può descrivere, essendo piena di tutti i possibili umani affetti, e avendogli tutti maravigliosamente espressi. Avvengachè i superbi, gli invidiosi, gli avari, i lussuriosi, e gli altri così fatti si riconoscono agevolmente da ogni bello spirito per avere osservato ogni decoro sì d' aria, sì d' attitudini, e sì d' ogni altra naturale circostanza nel figurarli; cosa che sebbene è maravigliosa, e grande, non e stata impossibile a questo uomo, per essere stato sempre accorto, e savio, e avere visto uomini assai, e acquistato quella cognizione con la pratica del Mondo, che fanno i filosofi con la speculazione e per gli scritti. Talchè chi giudizioso, e nella pittura intendente si trova, vede la terribilità dell' arte, e in quelle figure scorge i pensieri, e gli affetti, i quali mai per altro, che per lui, non furono dipinti." *Vasari, vol.* 2. 747, 748.

and it might be prudent to renounce the subject, except it can be treated in an allegorical manner, where Truth disguised under a delightful veil collects a number of pleasing images, and establishes Fiction in her rights.

The multitude of Michelagnolo's naked figures is an objection on which his enemies have confidently relied, and in one of the Pontificates a dress was thrown over them by an artist who from the circumstance was facetiously called "Il Braghettone."—Michelagnolo had embarrassed himself in a dilemma from which he could not extricate himself with ease, and entirely without censure. If the numbers of his naked figures in such a scene are indecent, to have clothed them would have been ridiculous. Frederico Zuccero, who painted the Cupola at Florence, split upon this shoal. He had absurdly peopled his with a multitude of figures of both sexes extremely well dressed in the fashion of the times.—We can excuse Michelagnolo; at Zuccero we can only laugh.—Yet it is not the nakedness of a figure that is exceptionable, but the indecency of its mien and attitude. Where the subject is chaste, nakedness is innocence.—On the contrary it is not dress itself that can convey the idea of purity, as may be learned from Mons^r^. Grosley's description of the St. Theresa of Bernini in an ecstasy. The female Saint is in the religious habit of a Carmelite, but is highly improper for a Church or an Altar-piece.

To Michelagnolo has been attributed a species of presentiment or prediction, that the artists especially in Tuscany his native country, who attached themselves to his style without his own great advantages, would never make a figure in their profession—a presentiment which has been but too fully verified (*i*).

Michelagnolo was the author of a Treatise on Muscular Motion, which would have been more regretted, if the loss had not in some measure been repaired by a work of the celebrated Bouchardon on the same subject.

Michelagnolo wrote with an elegant and noble simplicity, though he was more capable of writing well than solicitous of that accomplishment.—In one of his letters he acknowledges that he never took up the pen but when he could not avoid it, because the art of writing was not his own (*k*).—He succeeded, however, as a poet (*l*), and the

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(*i*) "Alquanto del duro sogliono avere le pitture di tutti coloro, che senza essere Michel-Agnolo hanno voluto disegnare, e dipignere a sua imitazione; con che pur troppo avverarono nel passato secolo quel suo tanto celebre vaticinio, cioè, che quella sua maniera averebbe in tempo prodotti molti goffi artefici." *Baldinucci, vita del Cigoli.*

(*k*) "Il scrivere mi da grandissima noja, perchè non è la mia arte." *Lettere concernenti le tre belle arti T.* 1.

(*l*) Berni, speaking "delle rime di Michel-Agnolo," has the following lines.

"Ho visto qualche sua composizione;
Son ignorante, e pur direi d'avelle,
Lette tutte nel mezzo di Platone;
Sicch'egli è nuovo Apollo, è nuove Apelle."

the Senator Buonaroti has obliged the public with a collection of his poetry (*a*).—The sonnets and Canzone are not overcharged with unnecessary ornaments, they resemble the austere simplicity of his own genius, yet perhaps their greatest merit consists in having fallen from his hand.

Michelagnolo died at ninety in Rome, and Florence his native city was at the expence of a magnificent funeral service, for the Phidias, the Sostratus, and Zeuxes united in her illustrious citizen.

Vasari and Condivi are the principal sources, from whence this account of Michelagnolo has been drawn.—

Mons^{r}.

(*a*) The Reader will not be displeased with a beautiful Sonnet from the collection.

"Giunto è gia'l corso della vita mia,
Per tempestoso mar con fragil barca,
Al comun porto, ov'a render si varca,
Giusta ragion d'ogni opra trista e pia:

Onde l'affettuosa fantasia,
Che l'Arte si fece idolo e monarca,
Conosco ben quant' era d'error carca;
Ch'errore é ciò, che l'uom quaggiù desia.

O pensier miei già de mie' danni lieti,
Che fia or s'a due morti m'avvicino,
L'una ch'è certa, e l'altra che minaccia?

Nè pinger, nè ſcolpir fia più che queti,
L'anima volta a quell' amor divino,
Ch'aperse a prender noi in croce e braccia."

Monsr. Gori, who re-published Condivi, is lavish in his praises, and Condivi, who was the scholar of Michelagnolo and wrote his master's life under his own eyes, deserves every mark of confidence from his chaste simplicity.—They who prefer elegance and ornament will read Vasari.—In accuracy the two writers may be equal.—Vasari was likewise a scholar of Michelagnolo, and their epistolary correspondence proves their intimacy. Michelagnolo's life also by Vasari has the advantage of being complete, whilst Condivi's ends ten years before the great Florentine's death.—In point of Virtù the two authors are not to be compared. Condivi was an artist without a name, and all the world has acknowledged Vasari's excellence, who was one of the most ingenious painters and the first of modern architects.

Michelagnolo, it is said, was perpetually inculcating the necessity of the young artist never losing sight of his compass, and this maxim ill understood or ill interpreted has been very prejudicial to the arts!—The spirit of it is however very plain.—The young student ought to handle the compass with such assiduity as to be able to work afterwards without feeling the want of its assistance.

Let us still preserve a veneration for this great man!—It has been the fashion lately to depreciate his talents, and to dwell on his imperfections or his foibles; but is it not to be feared that a blindness to his sublime genius is a symptom of declining taste, and an ominous presage of the fall of the arts connected with his glory?

Il Rosso.

Il Rosso, the Florentine, was an ingenious artist, and a genius without a master, unless he endeavoured to copy the bold and terrible style of Michelagnolo. We are assured, however, that his manner was not so correct and had a little harshness, though he possessed, notwithstanding, a very considerable degree of taste.—His talents recommended him to Francis the Ist, and he was for some time employed by that Monarch. Almost all the writers in the profession agree that his works at Fontainbleau have lost a great part of their beauty by age, but the censure is not just. Those in Fresco were effaced soon after his death by Primaticcio and the graceful Nicolino, the two great constellations of Bologna.—Florence is in possession of one of his pictures in perfect preservation, and it is alone sufficient to prove his merit (*b*).

Pontormo.

Pontormo, the Florentine, was not one of those great men, whose simple name is an evidence of their talents. Yet he had some reputation amongst cotemporary citizens, and his native city contains a multitude of his works.

(*b*) " Delle maravigliose opere del Rosso è stupendissima e eccellentissima la tavola della Cappella dei Dei, famiglia ora spenta; la quale tavola si conservâ per anco fresca, ed intatta, come se fosse stata fatta l'anno passato, ed è d'una belezza, che non si può immaginare, se non da chi l'ha vista." *Bottari.*

Antonio Gallo

works.—Virtù seems to have been hereditary in the Florentine family of Gallo. Giuliano, Antonio, and Aristotile were able architects, but Antonio the younger intendant of the building of St. Peter's surpassed them all. Clement the VIIth employed his talents in the construction of the famous fountains at Orvieto, worthy of the magnificence of a sovereign.—The French have a proverb, that "the absent are always in the wrong," and it may be extended to the dead.—The arms of the Roman Pontiff of the House of Medici had been worked and intended to be placed over these fountains.—Clement the VIIth died, Paul succeeded him, and the Tourteaux of the House of Medici have been metamorphosed into the Farnese arms of the "Fleurs de Lys," which are still remaining.

Granaccio. Montelupo.

Granaccio and Montelupo were also Florentine sculptors.

Piero Torrigiani.

Piero Torrigiani, another Florentine sculptor, was employed in England on many occasions by Henry the VIIIth, but his reputation suffered from his miserable envy of Michelagnolo's genius. In a moment of jealous rage, "di questa rabbia della gelosia," by a severe blow upon the face he did the Great Artist a lasting injury, and instead of acknowledging the infamy of his behaviour he boasted of it during the remainder of his life.—Cellini has given the detail.—

“ About (*c*) this time there came a sculptor to Florence, named Piero Torrigiani, “ who was just arrived from England, where he had resided several years; and as he was an intimate friend of my master's, he every day came to see him. This artist having seen my drawings, and my workmanship, said to me thus:—I am come to Florence to invite as many young persons as I can to England, and, having a great work in hand, I should be glad of the assistance of my fellow-citizens of Florence: I perceive that your manner of working, and your designs, are rather those of a sculptor than a goldsmith; now I have considerable undertakings in bronze, so that if you will go with me to England, I will at once make your fortune.—This Torrigiani was a handsome man, but of consummate assurance, having rather the air of a bravo than of a sculptor; above all, his strange gestures, and his sonorous voice, with a manner of knitting his brows, enough to frighten every man that saw him, gave him a most “ tremen-

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(*c*) “ In questo tempo venne uno scultore a Firenze, che si domandava Piero Torrigiani, in quale veniva d'Inghilterra. ——— Era questo uomo di bellissima forma, audacissimo, aveva più aria di gran soldato che di scultore, massime li suoi mirabili gesti, e la sua sonora voce, con uno aggrotar di ciglia, da spaventare ogni uomo da qual cosa, ed ogni giorno ragionava delle sue bravure con quelle bestje di quelli Inglesi. In questo proposito cadde in sul ragionare di Michel-Agnolo Buonarotti, chè sù causa di ciò un disegno, che io aveva fatto, ritratto da un cartone del divinissimo Michel-Agnolo. ——— Ora torniamo a Piero Torrigiani, che con quel mio disegno in mano disse così: questo Buonarotti ed io andavamo ad un parare da fanciulletti nella Chiesa del Carmine dalla Cappella di Masaccio, e poi il Buonarotti aveva per usanza di uccellare tutti quelli che disegnavano. Un giorno infra gli altri, dan-

“tremendous appearance; and he was continually talking of his great feats amongst those bears of Englishmen. His conversation one day happened to turn upon Michael Angelo Buonarotti; and a drawing of mine taken from one of the cartoons of that divine artist, was what gave rise to this discourse.

“This cartoon was the first in which Michael Angelo displayed his extraordinary abilities, as he made this and another which were to adorn the hall where the senators assembled, in emulation of Leonardo da Vinci; they represented the taking of Pisa by the Florentines. The admirable Leonardo had chosen for his subject a battle fought by cavalry, with the taking of certain standards, in which he acquitted himself with a force of genius that cannot be surpassed by conception. Michael Angelo Buonarotti in his cartoon exhibited a considerable body of foot, who were bathing in summer time in the river Arno; at this very instant he represents an alarm of battle, and all the naked soldiers running to arms, with gestures so admirably expressive, that no ancient or modern performance was ever known to attain to so high a degree of perfection: and as I have already observed, that of the great Leonardo was also a work of extraordinary beauty. These two

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domi noja il detto, mi venne assai più stizza del solito; e stretto la mano, gli dette si gran pugno nel naso, che io mi senti fiaccare sotto il pugno quell' osso, e tenerume del naso, come se fosse stato un cialdone, e così segnato da me ne resterà infinchè

" cartoons stood, one of them in the palace of Medici, " the other in the pope's hall: so long as they remained " there, they were the school of the world; and though " the divine Michael Angelo painted the great chapel of " pope Julius, he never again rose to that pitch of excellence; his genius could not reach the force of those " first essays. Let us now return to Piero Torrigiani; " who holding the abovementioned drawing of mine in " his hand, spoke thus:—This Buonarotti and I went " when we were children, to learn to draw in the church " of the Carmelites, at the chapel of Masaccio; and it " was afterwards customary with Buonarotti to rally all " those who were learning to draw there. One day, " amongst others, a sarcasm of his having stung me to " the quick, I was provoked to an uncommon degree, " and, having doubled my fist, I gave him so violent a " blow upon the nose, that I felt the bone and cartilage " yield under my hand as if they had been made of paste, " and the mark I then gave him, he will carry to his " grave. This rodomontade raised in me such an aversion to the fellow, because I had seen the works of the " divine Michael Angelo, that, far from having any inclination to go with him to England, the very sight of " him gave me offence (*d*)."

Emula-

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vive. Queste parole generarono in me tanto odio, perchè vedevo i fatti del divino Michel-Agnolo, che non tanto che a me venisse voglia di andarmene seco in Inghilterra, ma non potevo patire di vederlo." *Vita di Cellini.*

(*d*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 36—89.

Emulation and jealousy nearly touch each other.—Their approximating shades frequently blend themselves, but their extremities are very different.

> "Usque adeo quod tangit idem est, tamen ultima distant."

Unfortunately it often happens that emulation not only descends into jealousy, but degenerates into envy, the worst of passions of the worst of beings!

Clement the VIIth's Medals.

The Medals of Clement the VIIth's pontificate have been greatly celebrated, and from the state of humiliation to which he was reduced, according to Cellini, two were suggested by the Pope himself. One represents our Saviour naked as far as the waist, with the hands bound behind the back and the words "Ecce Homo." On the reverse the Pope and Emperor were endeavouring to rear a falling Cross, and the motto was "Unus Spiritus "et una Fides erat in eis."—The Pope's bust filled one side of the other medal, and on the reverse our Saviour appeared walking on the sea, and stretching out his hand to St. Peter with the words "Cur dubitasti (*e*)?"

Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici.

Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici, who had been forced to quit Florence during the expedition of Charles the VIIIth, passed his infancy in exile, and only returned

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(*e*) In Cellini the inscription is "Quare dubitasti." *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 189.

ed to his native country in 1512, under the auspices of his uncles Giovanni and Giuliano de' Medici. The former having been raised to the Pontificate, and the latter having voluntarily ceded to his nephew his rights to the government of Florence, it was given to Lorenzo. Leo the Xth also in his favour deprived Francesco Maria della Rovera of the Dutchy of Urbino.—Rovera entered into hostilities for the recovery of his patrimony, and Lorenzo in the contest neither exhibited any specimen of abilities or bravery.—It has been supposed that he was wounded at the siege of Mondolfo, but what proof is there of such an accident (*a*)?—He refused the challenge of his rival to decide their title and their fortune in single combat; with great cruelty he put the bearer of Rovera's message

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(*a*) The evidence, if it was of any consequence, rests on a letter from Clement the VIIth to Lorenzo on the accident.

" *A l'occasion de cette blessure, Léon X lui écrivit la lettre suivante ;*

Laurentio Medici fratris filio. Nihil nobis gratius et jocundius afferri potuit tuis litteris; quibus scribis de medicorum omnium sententiâ vulnus tibi omnino non penetrare, brevique coaliturum, et te valentem futurum. Quod quidem etsi ita fore spem in Diis immortalibus haberemus, tuique omnes idem nobis significarent; magnâ tamen lætitiâ nos affecit is medicorum consensus, tuæque litteræ, manu præsertim tuâ scriptæ, neque vacillantibus litterulis; quæ nos eâ de re certiores fecerunt. Itaque maximas quidem gratias Deo Opt. Max. ago, agamque dum vivam, qui te tam præsenti periculo eripuit; precorque, quod reliquum est, ut is mihi te et matri et tuis omnibus salvum atque sospitem sistat. Interim bono animo es, quo te tamen esse jam video, nihilque cogites, præter prosperam et celerem sanationem. Nos porro tibi usque hinc, quod nostri muneris est, manu quidem nostrâ in crucis effigiem ductâ, vulnus, qua possumus, obsignamus, benèque ominamur. Itaque fili optime atque exoptatissime vale. Dat. Non. April. Anno Quinto. Româ."

message to the torture, to discover his master's connections with France, and after a struggle of eight months he triumphed with great ignominy.—According to Paulus Iovius the Papal troops regularly fled at the sight of the enemy, and if Leo had not artfully corrupted some of the Spanish officers and Ugo de Moncade had not published a formal manifesto in the Emperor's name, it was generally believed both the Pope and his nephew would have failed in their enterprise, which had been as ill conducted as it was unjust (*b*).

Marries Maddalena de Tours.

As soon as Lorenzo de' Medici was invested with the Dutchy of Urbino, he married, through the interest of Francis the Ist, Maddalena de Tours, Countess of Boulogne, of the Royal blood of France and descended in a direct line

" ——————— del Capitano,
Ch'el gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo,"

from the famous Godfrey de Bouillon, the conqueror of Jerusalem and the sage general of an army of fools and fanatics.

The

(*b*) "Pontificii nusquam ferè Feltrianos sustinuerunt, ac, nisi Leo magnis propositis præmiis venales quosdam Hispanorum Præfectos corrupisset, et Ugo Moncata, Cæsaris nomine, universos ut Feltrium desererent, indixisset, grave profectò Leo vulnus accipiens, pudendi et parum æqui belli pœnas subiisset."

The Marshal de Fleuranges, who has transmitted to us his Memoirs under the title of “A Young Adventurer,” gives the history of this marriage in 1518.

“ La Cour estant à Amboise, la Royne accoucha d'un
“ beau-fils. Incontinent dépêcha le Roy devers le Pape,
“ le prier d'estre son compere. Envoya le dict Pape en
“ son lieu tenir le dict Dauphin, le Duc d'Urbin son neveu,
“ et avoit le dict Duc d'Urbin bien fort la grosse
“ V....., et de fresche mémoire, et falloit qu'il vint en
“ poste, ce qu'il faysoit à grand, peine, et vint à Amboise,
“ où lui fit le Roy merveilleusement bon recueil.
“ Le baptême fut fait au plus grand triomphe possible,
“ et trois jeurs après feurent faict les nopces du dict
“ Duc d'Urbin à la plus jeune fille de Boulogne, qui
“ estoit très belle Dame et jeune, car Mr. d'Albanie
“ avoit épousé l'aisnée; et quand la dicte Dame épousa
“ le dict Duc d'Urbin, elle ne l'épousa pas seul, car elle
“ épousa la grosse V..... quant et quant; et à ce propre
“ jour le Roy le fit Chevalier de son Ordre. ——
“ Quand le souper fut fait, mena-t'on coucher la mariée
“ trop plus belle que le marié, et le lendemain se firent
“ les joustes les plus belles que furent oncques faictes en
“ France, ne en la Chrétienté, là où à tous ces combats
“ estoit le dict Duc d'Urbin, nouveau marié, qui faisoit
“ le mieux qu'il pouvoit pour plaire à sa mie.”

Leo the Xth expressed his gratitude in a very substantial manner for the favour Francis the Ist had conferred on the Medici Family, though not at his own expence. Lorenzo carried with him into France a Bull from his uncle, giving Francis the Ist permission to employ in whatever mode he chose, the sums levied in the Ecclesiastical benefices for the support of the war against the infidels.

Death of Lorenzo de' Medici and his consort.

Lorenzo de' Medici and his youthful bride survived their union but a year!—Lorenzo died in consequence of his former course of sensual pleasures—from that destructive punishment of vice and libertinism which had lately made its appearance, and was not then perfectly understood in Italy (*c*).—His death at once dissolved the connection of France with Leo the Xth.—If the antient

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(*c*) Mr. Roscoe observes, "This disorder, which was first known in Italy about the year 1495, was not in its commencement supposed to be the result of sexual intercourse, but was attributed to the impure state of the air, to the simple touch or breath of a disordered person, or even to the use of an infected knife. Hence for a considerable time no discredit attached to the patient; and the authors of that period attribute without hesitation the death of many eminent persons, as well ecclesiastical as secular, to this complaint. In the Laurentian library (*Plut.* lxxiii. *cod.* 38.) is a MS. intitled *Saphati Physici de morbo Gallico liber*, dedicated by the author Giuliano Tanio of Prato, to Leo the Xth, in which he thus adverts to a learned Professor, who was probably one of the first victims of this disease; 'Nos anno MCCCCXCV. extrema æstate, egregium utriusque juris doctorem Dominum Philippum Decium, Papiensem, in Florentino Gymnasio Prati, Pisis tunc rebellibus, publice legentem, hac labe affectum ipsi conspeximus.' From the same author we learn that the disorder was supposed to have originated in a long continuance of hot and moist weather, which occurred in the same year: 'Ex magna pluvia similis labes apparuit, ex quibus arguunt hunc nostræ ætatis morbum ex simili caussa ortum esse, ex calida scilicet, humidaque intemperie, quia ex pluvia scilicet anni MCCCCLXXXXV.

antient Hecuba, as the poets tell us, had such frightful dreams before the birth of Paris, what ghastly phantoms may not have been supposed to have disturbed the sleep of Maddalena de Tours!—Catherine de'

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nonis Decembris emissa, qua Roma facta est navigabilis, ac tota fere Italia inundationes passa est,' &c. These authorities are greatly strengthened by that of the illustrious Francastoro, who was not only the best Latin poet, but the most eminent physician of his age, and who in his *Syphilis* accounts for the disorder from similar causes. After adverting to the opinion that it had been brought into Europe from the Western world, then lately discovered, he adds,

‘ At vero, si rite fidem observata merentur
Non ita consendum: nec certe credere par est
Esse peregrinam nobis, transque æquora vectam
Contagiem: quoniam in primis ostendere multos
Possumus, attactu qui nullius, hanc tamen ipsam
Sponte sua sensere luem, primique tulere.
Præterea, et tantum terrarum tempore parvo,
Contagies non una simul potuisset obire.' ”

“ Yet,” as Mons^r^. Tenhove remarks, “ Fracastoro hinted at the specific remedy for the complaint:

‘ ——— tibi parta salus tellure sub ima est;
Tolle animos ———————————
Hic tibi tantorum requies inventa laborum.
———————————————
———————————————

Hæc tibi bisquinis satis est iterasse diebus;
Durum erit: at quicquid tulerit res ipsa ferendum est.
Aude animis. Tibi certa salus stans limine in ipso
Signa dabit. Liquefacta mali excrementa videbis,
Assiduè sputo immundo fluitare per ora,
Et largum ante pedes tabi mirabere flumen.
———————————————
———————————————

Sed jam age vicinæ victor gratare saluti.
Ultima adest tibi cura, eadem et placidissima: corpus
Abluere, et lustrare artus ac membra piare
Stæchade, Amaricinisque comis, et Rore marino
Verbanâque sacrâ, et benè olentibus Heracleis.' ”

de' Medici was the only fruit of this fatal marriage, and her mother lost her life in bringing Catherine into the world.

Birth of Catherine de' Medici.

Exclusive of the Dutchy of Urbino, Leo the Xth had given the Pontine Marshes to his nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, who drained the lower part of them, which is at present very productive, and contains in circumference about five leagues. The House of Medici possessed nearly seventy years the whole of these Marshes, which cover so many antient cities, but the family extended its improvements no farther than has been mentioned. Sixtus left them the part they had improved, and re-took possession of the rest. If he had lived, in all probability, from the firmness and resolution of his character, he would have succeeded in the undertaking in which so many of the Popes have failed.

The tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino, is in the new Sacristy of St. Lorenzo at Florence, called also the Chapel of the Princes, which was of Michelagnolo's architecture. Amongst the seven statues by Michelagnolo in the same Chapel, which are all masterly performances, there is one of Lorenzo.

Clarice, the sister of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, attended her father in his flight.—Piero de' Medici being drowned in the Garigliano in 1503, Alfonsina d'Urbino his widow, retired with her children to Rome, under the protection of her brother-in-law the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. Her whole thoughts and attention were now turned towards marrying her daughter Clarice suitably, and she cast her eyes on Filippo Strozzi, a young person of great hopes, and of one of the first Florentine families.—Filippo Strozzi, whilst he was highly flattered by such a brilliant offer, was not blind to the inconveniences that might attend it. Clarice's father had been declared a rebel, and died in exile, but the laws did not include the females in the sentence or proscription. After having paused for some time on the proposals, and reflected maturely on the advantage or prejudice that might arise from them, he at last accepted of Clarice's hand, and went to Rome to celebrate their nuptials. But this marriage displeased his friends who were staunch Republicans.—Strozzi was summoned to give an account of his conduct and intentions, and banished for three years.—His youthful consort could not be legally included in the sentence; she went to Florence, and the whole city was as eager to see the grand-daughter of the great Lorenzo as a new spectacle. The Gonfalonier Soderini, apprehensive of more serious consequences, prevailed on Clarice to request her husband Strozzi's pardon, and by these means he returned before his exile would otherwise have expired.—His alliance however with the House of Medici had not extinguished in his generous bosom his ardent love of liberty, and he had not any share in the conspiracy

Clarice de' Medici marries Filippo Strozzi.

conspiracy which re-instated the family in Florence.—Though he was the favourite of his brother-in-law Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, his death gave him little if any concern.—From his attachment to literature he was disgusted with continual servitude, and wearied with the trade of a courtier he sighed for the freedom of repose.—Exclusive of these sentiments Lorenzo's government was so defective or oppressive, that Strozzi, who saw no method of separating his own fortune from Lorenzo's, was fearful of being sooner or later involved in his ruin.

Clement the VIIth, it will be recollected, when he was surprised by the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, had been under the necessity of promising a great ransom for his personal safety. To secure its payment he had been obliged to deliver hostages, and Filippo Strozzi was one of them, whom Clement the VIIth suffered to languish for a long time in captivity.—Strozzi did not forget the injury, and from his resentment joined to his Republican ideas he conceived the project of a change in the government of his country. The times were favourable, the name of the Roman Pontiff was holden in abomination at Florence, and the fears of the army under the command of the Constable Bourbon, which then threatened Tuscany, invited the citizens to break their yoke, and separate themselves from the House of Medici.—Clement's authority tottered, and Strozzi received repeated as well as pressing solicitations from both parties to return and lend them his influence and assistance.

Character of Clarice.

Whether he dissembled at first, or was irresolute and could not at once determine on the line of conduct he ought to espouse, he sent Clarice before him to collect intelligence, and explore the path he had to tread.—Clarice was blessed with great suavity of temper, had great prudence, a grandeur of soul, and had a more passionate attachment to the cause of liberty than was usually to be found in the House of Medici.—She was so much superior to Lorenzo that Leo the Xth often observed, "how "happy it would have been for the family if Lorenzo "had been Clarice, and Clarice had been Lorenzo!"—

Her exertions at Florence.

When she had sounded the friends of freedom she went to pay a visit to the Cardinal of Cortona, the guardian of Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici. By her eloquence or her artifices she persuaded the Cardinal, that if he persisted in his wishes of staying in Florence with his two wards, both their lives and his own would be in danger. Filippo Strozzi soon afterwards arriving, and pretending to interest himself warmly for the Medici, accomplished what Clarice had so ably begun. The Cardinal fled, and the Government was re-established on its antient footing.

The Cardinal de Cortona however before he quitted Florence, had demanded for his security to be escorted by one or two of the principal citizens, and Strozzi undertook the office, though he had afterwards reason to repent he had engaged in it. The Medici had stipulated in the Cardinal de Cortona's treaty with the Florentines to deliver up Pisa and Leghorn, but the surrender of the two cities met with some obstacles. Filippo Strozzi was in consequence of this unexpected delay suspected of collusion, lost in a single moment all his former popularity, and became a fresh example of the inconstancy of the Florentines, and another victim—

"Di quel ingrato popolo maligno
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico
E che tiene ancor del monte e' del macigno (*a*)."

To this severe mortification was added the loss of his illustrious consort, who, like most of the Medici Family, dropped in the flower of her age.—Strozzi retired to Lyons under the pretence of engaging in its commerce, and there waited patiently the event of the siege of his native city.—When fortune had decided the contest in favour of the Medici, he excused himself as well as he was able to Clement the VIIth, but the whole family together with Strozzi incurred the resentment of the young Duke Alessandro, and Clement, to secure Filippo from his nephew's violence, appointed him Nuncio in France.

It

(*a*) Dante.

It is the first and perhaps the single instance of the office being filled by any other person than an Ecclesiastic, for the project that Ciaconius (*b*) attributes to Marcellus the IId of excluding Ecclesiastics from political services was never carried into execution, and evaporated with his reign of fifteen days.

After the death of Clement the VIIth Filippo Strozzi returned to Rome, where he found the Cardinal Ippolito jealous of his cousin's greatness and good fortune.—Strozzi and Ippolito talked over their injuries and grievances, and joined in their resentments. The former put himself at the head of the Florentine exiles, who then swarmed in Rome, and acted as a mediator between them and Ippolito. Nothing was more difficult than to conciliate them or unite their clashing and discordant interests, but they equally desired Alessandro's ruin, and it was the only point on which they cordially agreed.—Ippolito wished to reign—the exiles to be free.

Filippo Strozzi puts himself at the head of the Florentine exiles.

The success of these different views depended almost wholly on the Emperor's inclinations. He had not yet given his daughter Margaret in marriage to Alessandro de' Medici, though he still purposed it, and wished to strengthen

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(*b*) "Quare viris profanis, ac sacris haud initiatis ordinibus, hujusmodi officia, omnemque politicam jurisdictionem committere cogitaret."

strengthen his Government by the union or extinction of all parties.

The Cardinal Ippolito and the exiles sent deputies to the Emperor at Barcelona, but he received them with great coldness, though he promised to examine their pretensions on his arrival in Italy. Ippolito set out to have an interview with him, and on the road was attacked by a violent disorder and died very suddenly. The circumstances of his death were certainly suspicious.—Strozzi and his associates apparently made bitter lamentations, and were loud in their demands of vengeance, yet they consoled themselves in reality with the reflection that another Medici was removed out of their way. Soon afterwards they went to meet the Emperor at Naples.—The French ambassador at Rome had endeavoured to prevail on Filippo Strozzi to give up the journey, and in answer to his solicitations Strozzi told him "he was de-" termined to demand the freedom of his country from "God, the World, and the Devil, and that he should "have a lasting obligation to any of the three that grati-" fied him."

The usurpations and profligacy of Alessandro de' Medici, who attended in person to plead his own cause, were unequivocally stated to the Emperor. It was however soon perceptible that as he had lost all hopes of accommodating the differences, he would not hesitate to sacrifice the rights of the citizens of Florence, and that the Government was to be Margaret's dowry.—The Florentines refused to submit, Strozzi retired to Venice, and the Duke Alessandro de' Medici declared him a rebel and confiscated his property.

Declared a rebel, and his property confiscated.

When Alessandro's assassin came to Venice, and brought Filippo Strozzi intelligence of what had passed, he was received as an Angel from Heaven. It was considered as one of the most fortunate events that could have happened, yet it was not followed by the consequences which Strozzi and his friends expected. The Florentine Cardinals (*c*), including Strozzi and the rest of the exiles, assembled troops, were supported by the French Court, and took some measures to restore their liberties, but their plans were ill concerted and worse executed.—Strozzi, surprised at Montemurlo, fell into the conqueror's power, and was conveyed a prisoner to the citadel of Florence, where he floated for some time between hope and fear.—The young Cosmo, who had succeeded the Duke Alessandro de' Medici, consulted the Emperor on the treatment of his prisoner, and that Monarch, who from his austerity generally desired the death of every offender, advised the most rigorous sentence.—Strozzi was twice put to the torture which he bore with fortitude, but his great soul was indignant of life.—He perceived

Surprised at Montemurlo, and taken prisoner.

(*c*) "Salviati et Ridolfi."

Puts himself to death, and leaves a paper with his reasons for dying by his own hands.

perceived a poignard within his reach, and plunged into his heart the instrument of freedom.—The tragical end of this illustrious citizen alarmed Italy and softened it into tears.—In his bosom a paper was found with the following contents:

"TO GOD THE DELIVERER (*d*).

"TO prevent being any longer exposed to the rage of "my inveterate enemies, and forced by the violence of "unjust torments to say something prejudicial to my honour, my family, and my innocent friends, as has lately "happened to Giuliano Gondi, I Filippo Strozzi have "determined in the manner I am able, however dangerous it may be to my soul, to put an end to my life with "my own hands.—I recommend my soul to God, the "Sovereign

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(*d*) " DEO LIBERATORI.

" Per non venire più in potere de maligni inimici miei, ove, oltre all' essere stato ingiustamente e crudelmente straziato, sia costretto di nuovo, per violenza di tormenti, dire alcuna cosa in pregiudizio dell' onore dell' innocenti parenti, et amici miei, la qual cosa è accaduta a questi giorni allo sventurato Giuliano Gondi: Io Filippo Strozzi mi sono deliberato, in quel modo che io posso, quantunque duro (rispetto all' anima) mi paia, con le mie proprie mani finire la vita mia: L' anima mia a Iddio, somma miserecordia, raccomando, humilmente pregandolo, se altro darle di bene non vuole, che le dia almeno quel luogo dove Catone Uticense, e altri simili virtuosi uomini hanno fatto tal fine.

" Prego D. Giovan di Luna castellano, che mandi a torre del mio sangue dopo la mia morte, e ne faccia fare un migliaccio, mandandolo a Cibo cardinale, affine che si satii in morte di quello, che satiare non si è potuto in vita, perche altro grado non gli manca per arrivare al ponteficato, a che esso sì disonestamente aspirà: E lo prego che faccia sepellire il mio corpo in Santa Maria Novella, appresso à quello della mia donna, quando che nò, mi starò dove mi metteranno: Prego bene i miei Figliuoli

" Sovereign Author of all Mercy, and I humbly beseech
" him, if I am not worthy to be admitted into his glory,
" graciously to allot me an existence with Cato of Utica,
" and those other virtuous men whose deaths have been
" like mine.—I request Don Giovanni di Luna, the com-
" mandant of the citadel, to make a sausage with my
" blood, and to send it to the Cardinal Cibo, that he may
" be satiated after my death with what he always longed
" for during my life.—I desire also Giovanni di Luna to
" bury my body in S. Maria Novella, near my wife, and
" if that cannot be allowed it may be wherever my friends
" think proper.—I request my sons to conform to my
" will made in this citadel.—And thou, Emperor! I be-
" seech thee with all due respect to inform thyself better
" of the conduct of the poor Florentines, and to act
" otherwise respecting them than thou hast already done,
" for the welfare of the state, except it is thy wish to ruin
" it entirely!

" *Philippus Strozza, jamjam moriturus.*

" Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor (*e*)."

Strozzi

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che osservino il testamento fatto da me in Castello, il quale è in mano di Benedetto Ulivieri, eccetto che la partita del Bandino; E sodisfare ancora al signor D. Giovan di Luna di molti comodi da lui ricevuti, e spese fatte per me, non l' avendo sodisfatto mai di cos' alcuna; e tu Cesare con ogni riverenza ti prego t' informi meglio de' modi della povera città di Firenze, riguardando altrimenti, che tu non hai fatto al ben di quella, se già il fine tuo non è di rovinarla.

Philippus Strozza, jamjam moriturus.

" Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

(e) *P. Virgil. Æneid.* iv. 625.
" May some Avenger from my ashes rise!"

Strozzi deceived himself, like Dido, in the hopes and expectations of revenge. He had been distinguished above the rest of his citizens by the splendour of his birth and his immense riches, and his alliance with the House of Medici had above all spread over his life the character of singularity.—He was learned, and wrote with equal elegance in verse and prose.—The elder Pliny was his favourite study, and superstition the least of his foibles.—From his dissipation, however, and attachment to irregular pleasures, his reputation suffered,

His character.

"Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,"

and the youth of Florence followed the scandalous example.

Lorenzo Strozzi.

Lorenzo Strozzi, his brother, a person of great merit (*f*), wrote the History of his Life, and also a Treatise on Patience, with, what is more extraordinary, and more lamentable, a dedication to the Grand Duke.

Filippo Strozzi left by his consort Clarice de' Medici a numerous family, and such of their descendants as have been celebrated for their fortune or their talents will be briefly mentioned.

I. Piero

(*f*) Machiavel dedicated to him his Art of War, and gives a high character of him: "Conosco voi de ricchezze e nobilità non aver molti pari, d'ingegno pochi; e di liberalità niuno.

Piero Strozzi.

I. Piero Strozzi was not less renowned than his father.—Of a noble and elegant figure he made a general impression, he had a great heroic soul, was passionately fond of glory, but at the same time insufferably vain, obstinate, and proud.—The Florentine youth respected him as a Divinity, and as he was the legitimate son of Clarice de' Medici, he conceived himself superior to Alessandro, who had been the issue of a spurious connection which had been only sanctified by love. On every occasion therefore he opposed Alessandro, an open rupture followed between them, and their mutual hatred occasioned his exile. Piero retired into France, where under the protection of his cousin the Dauphiness, he looked forward both to an asylum and to honours. By degrees he insinuated himself into Francis the Ist's favour, and he served him with fidelity and reputation. The memoirs of the times speak with admiration of the troop of three hundred chosen youths in golden corselets, that attended him at his own expence from Tuscany.

On the death of Alessandro he flew back into Italy, where he found his father Filippo undecided on his future conduct, but his counsels or animated expostulations determined his wavering intentions.—At the surprise of Montemurlo Piero Strozzi had scarcely time to save himself, and though he had not afterwards the power, he did not want the inclination to revenge his father's untimely end, for he vowed an eternal hatred and hostility to the Duke Cosmo de' Medici, and the Emperor, who protected him.—Yet he rendered the latter, indirectly and undesignedly, an important service on a very critical occasion.—Francis the Ist in 1547 having made peace with Charles, could not openly support the Protestants in Germany, but he engaged Piero Strozzi to advance them three hundred thousand crowns. Strozzi went into Germany to take the necessary steps with the Protestants, and when the moment arrived for him to advance the money and execute his commission he disappeared, to their astonishment.—The Protestants believed he had been seduced into this breach of the contract by the Cardinal Tournon, in high favour with the King, and inflamed with an unconquerable hatred of the reformed Religion.—It was imagined however that Strozzi's resolution had not been worked upon by the suggestions of any religious scruples of which the Florentines had no conception, and that he was induced to apprehend from Francis the Ist's indisposition, that if he advanced the money he ran the risk of losing it.

In 1551 he was employed in Italy, where he forced the Governor of the Milanese to raise the siege of Parma, by the reinforcements which he brought to its assistance with wonderful skill and expedition. After several other successes he returned into France, and became closely connected with the Duke of Guise, of whom he was afterwards the "right-hand" and principal counsellor and confidant.

When this Prince in 1552, to make use of an old French expression, "força l'Aigle à faire la poule devant "le Coq," and obliged the Emperor to raise the siege of Metz, Strozzi distinguished himself in its memorable defence, as may be collected from the ballad of the day.

> "Monsieur de Guise étoit dedans, &c. &c.
> Et Monseigneur le Pierre Estrosse,
> Qui nuit et jour est sur remparts,
> Faisant remparts de grand' adresse,
> Et remparant de toutes parts."

In 1554, the inhabitants of Sienna having shaken off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves under the French protection, Henry the IId, who had at first confided his interests to the Cardinal Ferrara, sent afterwards Piero Strozzi. This choice of Strozzi however was fatal to the French, for though he was fully equal to the employment, the departed shade of his father was always present to his eyes, and excited in his mind a desire rather of vengeance than of conquest. Under this impression he followed the dictates of revenge, and neglected the rules of war. The Cardinal Ferrara's jealousy also relaxed his vigilance and activity, and the Duke of Florence, piqued at the French King's having opposed to him a General personally obnoxious, renounced every offer of reconciliation.—Piero Strozzi in this war displayed prodigies of valour and activity, and made his rival's throne shake under him, though Fortune at last deserted him.—He attempted impossibilities to relieve Sienna, besieged by the Marquis de Marignan. Beaten and wounded at the battle of Marciano he did not still lose his courage; he rallied his broken troops, collected new levies, and succeeded in throwing both a supply of men and ammunition into Sienna, which protracted its surrender. When at last it fell the Marquis de Marignan attacked Porto-Ercolo, which Strozzi defended with his usual intrepidity. This fortress in 1555, being no longer tenable, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering, Strozzi escaped on board a galley to prevent being made a prisoner.

The following year the Caraffi sent for him to Rome with the consent of the French Court to employ him in their extensive projects. Their ambitious schemes, however, evaporated or were counteracted by the vigilance of the Duke of Alba, so famous afterwards for his conduct and his cruelty in the Low Countries. When Strozzi returned to the French Court his ill success in Tuscany had no influence whatever on his reception, and Henry the IId, instead of applying to him, "Varus, Varus, "give me back my Legions," recompensed his zeal with a Marshal's staff.—Piero Strozzi did not, however, long enjoy this honour, being killed by a musket-shot at the siege of Thionville.—The circumstances of his death, as they are related by the Marshal de Vieilleville, are not very

Death of Piero Strozzi.

ry edifying (*a*), yet honest Vincent Carloix, whose chronicle is far superior to a number of modern insipid annals, appears to have given them with truth and freedom.

“ Monsieur le Maréchal Strozzi voulut faire aprocher
“ six coulevrines, et les assembler avec les canons, pour
“ battre en ruine, et foudroyer la ville; mais, faisant ce
“ commandement de colère, sans prendre garde à soy,
“ une mousquetade lui traverse le corps, dont il mourut
“ à demieheure après le coup; estant Mr. de Guyse fort
“ près de luy, auquel il dit; Ha teste D..... Monsieur!
“ Le Roy perd aujourdhuy un bon serviteur, et votre
“ Excellence encores. Et le voulant ce Prince admo-
“ nester de son salut, et luy remémorant le nom de Je-
“ sus, quel Jesus, dit-il, venez vous me ramentevoir icy?
“ je regnie D..., ma feste est finie. Et redoublant le
“ Prince son exhortation, luy dit, qu'il pensât en Dieu,
“ et qu'il seroit aujourdhuy devant sa face. Mort D.....,
“ répondit-il, je seray où sont tous les autres, qui sont
“ morts depuis six mille ans. Le tout en langage Itali-
“ en, et à cette dernière parole il expira, qui étoit un
“ testament assez commun à ceux de sa nation Florentine,
“ et digne de la vie qu'il avoit toujours demenée, et selon
“ sa foi, qui n'estoit pas plus chrétienne ni religieuse qu'il
“ ne falloit, comme il le fist paroître le soir précédent
“ qu'il

(*a*) “ Bestemmiando fuggì l'alma sdegnosa,
Che fù si altéra al mondo e si orgogliosa.”
Ariosto.

"qu'il soupa avec Mr. de Vieilleville, car le souper fini il "demanda de gayeté de cœur, que faisoit Dieu devant "qu'il fist le monde? Demande que reprima Mr. de Vieilleville assez civilement, lui remonstrant qu'elle n'estoit point en toute la Ste Ecriture, et quand elle cesse "de nous enseigner, il nous faut cesser de nous enquérir, "car il n'y a rien en icelle, que ce qui nous est nécessaire "au salut. C'est une belle chose, dit-il alors, cette Ste "Ecriture, et fort bien inventée, si elle est vraye. Incontinent à cette scandaleuse et satanesque parole, Mr. "de Vieilleville feinct d'être saizy d'une grande douleur "de colique, et se lève de table, afin de rompre compagnie. Et estant l'autre retiré avec sa suicte, il dit à ceux "qui estoyent demeurés, qu'il protestoit de jamais ne "converser, ne faire amitié, ny un seul repas avec un tel "Athéïste, et qu'il croyoit fermement que ce siège devoit faire la terminaison de sa vie. Ce que advint sans attendre le cours de vingtquatre heures; car le lendemain il fut frapé environ midy, et rendit l'esprit; mais "je ne sçay à qui, veu les horribles blasphèmes qu'il vomit en mourant, et ce que l'on peut juger de sa crèance "par les méchantes paroles qu'il prononça le soir précédent, qui le privèrent, à mon advis, en l'article de la "mort, de la connoissance de Dieu; mais son incompréhensible bonté et miséricorde infinie par dessus (*b*)."

The

(*b*) *Memoires de Vieilleville, liv.* 7. *c.* 11. 73, 74, 75.

The philosophical Montaigne, when he passed some years afterwards by Epernay, where Marshal Strozzi was interred, wishing to see his tomb found it " sans aucune " montre ni de pierre, ni d'armoirie, ni d'épitaphe," without arms, epitaph, or any thing to distinguish it; which is not easily reconciled with one of Voiture's letters.—Writing to the Marchioness de Rambouillet, he tells her " that the Marshal's tomb was so magnificent that he al" most wished to be buried with him."

Piero Strozzi was in his youth destined for the Church, and he attached himself so much to the study of literature, that his passion for it continued to the end of his life. He made indeed great progress in his learned pursuits, and few modern scholars would now even attempt what he accomplished.—In the words of Brantome—" Pour plus grande preuve, que j'aye jamais vue du grand " savoir de mon dit Seigneur le Maréchal, ç'ont été les " Commentaires de César, qu'il avoit tourné de Latin en " Grec, et luymême écrit de sa main. Le langage étoit " très beau et très éloquent, à ce que j'en ay ouy dire à " des hommes très habiles qui l'avoyent vû et lû, comme " Mr. de Ronfard et Mr. Durant, s'estonnans de la curi" osité de cet homme à s'être amusé de faire cette traduc" tion, puisque l'original étoit en si bon Latin. Voylà " ce que je leur en ay ouy dire, car pour moy j'entends " autant le Grec que le Haut-Allemand."

The Abbé Terrasson, reasoning from this passage, attributes to Piero Strozzi the Greek Translation of Cæsar's Commentaries published at Francfort in 1608, though it belongs more probably to the Monk Planudes, the fabulous biographer of Æsop, or to some of the Greek Refugees, and perhaps Theodore Gaza, who was known to have taken up the subject.

Leone Strozzi.

II. Leone Strozzi the brother of Piero, was a Knight of Malta and one of the ablest naval officers of his time. —Clement the VIIth, on giving him the habit of the Order, resigned to him the dignity of the Prior of Capua, which he held in person.—He made his first essay in arms under the famous Doria, rose gradually to the command of the Maltese Gallies, and signalized himself both in the Mediterranean and in other seas.—France received him with open arms.—In the celebrated expedition against Portsmouth, by his nautical skill and bravery he saved the French fleet, and two years afterwards he was very successful on the armament against Scotland.—In 1551 the intrigues of the Court and the persecution of Anne de Montmorenci, too much celebrated by a number of historians, forced him to quit the French service. —He sailed for Malta, but the Grand Master was not willing to receive him, and he was reduced to the necessity of turning pirate, and captured even the vessels belonging to the Order. Yet he restored, as soon as his circumstances admitted of it, the full value of every thing he had taken, and paid also the interest for the sums in question. After the death of the Spaniard Omedès, he would have been infallibly elected Grand Master, if the electors had not been apprehensive of being involved in his family's disputes.—During the war of Sienna his brother the Marshal took great pains to re-instate him in the French service, and notwithstanding Henry the IId's extreme warmth and quickness of temper, he sacrificed his feelings to the love of his country.—Leone Strozzi had twelve gallies intrusted to his care, with the sole command of all the King's vessels in the Mediterranean and the Italian ports, and the liberty of returning into a French yard at his option and when he thought it necessary.—The last moments of Leone Strozzi, whom the Florentine exiles considered after they had lost his brother, as their second hopes, were fast approaching.—When he had finished the fortifications of Porto-Ercolo, he made a descent at Scarlino dependant on Piombino, and was killed by a shot from a musket fired by a common peasant concealed in the reeds.—" Ah, " cries Brantome, " qu'un vilain avec un baston à feu puisse assommer un tel homme !"

His Death.

Leone Strozzi died at thirty-nine, and all the historians boast of his probity, his disinterestedness, and his grandeur of soul. The writers least favourable to him blame him for a want of moderation. His pride certainly occasioned him some considerable embarrassments, and what Mons^{r.} Thomas has said of Du Guay-Trouïn, "Que la rudesse de l'élement ne s'étoit point communiquée à son esprit," cannot with any justice be applied to him.—On the capture of Porto-Ercolo the conquerors were guilty of a shameful and unmanly outrage of the rights of the grave—took up his body, and threw it into the sea.—They shewed by this ungenerous act how much they had feared him, and indeed his death was reckoned in the number of those happy events, which Fortune lavished from time to time on the Duke of Florence.

Roberto Strozzi.

III. Roberto Strozzi, the third brother, sacrificed the best part of his fortune to revenge his father's untimely end.—We shall find him afterwards married to one of the Medici.

Lorenzo Strozzi.

IV. Lorenzo Strozzi obtained through the interest of his brother the Marshal a Cardinal's Hat, was the King's Lieutenant with the Albigenses in 1562, and unfortunately distinguished himself by his zeal against the Huguenots.—He appears also to have been present at the famous conference between Catherine de' Medici and the Duke of Alba at Bayonne, which was attended with such fatal consequences to France and the Low Countries.

Louisa Strozzi.

V. Louisa Strozzi, the wife of Ludovico Capponi and one of the Florentine Ladies most celebrated for beauty and for virtue, renewed the tragic history of Virginia, being poisoned by her brothers, not from motives of hatred or resentment, for they were tenderly attached to her, but solely from their fears that the Duke Alessandro their mortal enemy meant to disgrace the family by the corruption or violation of their sister's honour.

Palla Strozzi.

The Strozzi Family makes a figure in the Florentine annals early in the 14th century.—Towards the year 1380 it was divided between the people and the nobles. —Palla Strozzi, the great grand-father of Filippo the husband of Clarice de' Medici was at the same time the most prudent and illustrious of his ancestors, and one of the most temperate nobles who opposed Cosmo de' Medici the Father of his Country.—When Cosmo was recalled Palla Strozzi put an end to the resistance of the imperious Rinaldo D'Albizzi, and afterwards shared his exile. He returned to Florence, was again banished, and died at Padua in 1462.—We have his funeral oration in the style of Francesco Filelfo, one of his favourites.—Having been a disciple of Chrysoloras (*a*) and of Tommaso Sarzana

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(*a*) "Essendo in Firenze Palla, e avendo notizia delle lettere Latine, ma non delle Greche, determinò, che havendo notizia delle lettere Latine, l'avesse anchora delle Greche, e per questo fece ogni cosa che potè, che Manuello Grisolora Greco passassi in Italia, e adoperossi a farne ogni cosa col favore, e accompagnando buona parte della spesa, perchè egli passasse in Italia, come passò per la sua diligentia. Venuto Manuello in Italia nel modo detto col favore di Messer Palla, manchavano i libri, che sanza i libri non si poteva fare nulla. Messer Palla mandò in Grecia per infiniti volumi alle sue ispese. La Cosmografia colla pittura fece venire insino da Gostantinopoli, e quando Messer Lionardo la tradusse, ebbe la copia di Messer Palla.

zana afterwards Nicholas the Vth, he had always been distinguished by his learning, and his taste for the arts and letters, and his posterity have not degenerated.—This numerous and illustrious family has preserved the first distinction in Florence, and been both famous for the number of learned men that have sprung from it, and the patronage it has invariably bestowed on the polite arts and literature.—Chiabrera, the Genoese Pindar, has truly said

"Sempre a gli Strozzi miei piacque Ippocrene."

Alessandro Strozzi.

Alessandro Strozzi, a near relation of Filippo, was highly favoured by the first Grand Duke, and was very frequently employed by him in his political negotiations (*b*).—Many of his fugitive pieces are inserted in the collection of the "Prose Fiorentine."

Giovanni Strozzi was the Grand Duke's envoy to the Council of Trent.

Ciriaco Strozzi.

Ciriaco Strozzi, who died in 1565, added to the Eight Books of Aristotle's Politics a Ninth and Tenth in Greek, in which he endeavoured to imitate the style and manner of

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——— Fù tanto il frutto, che seguitò della venuta di Manuello in Italia, che sino al presente di se ne colgono de' frutti, della quale venuta fù cagione Messer Palla, il quale mertò grandissima lode, e commendatione di tutte le opere sue per la generosità dell' animo suo." *Vesp. di Bisticci, vita di Palla di Messer Noferi degli Strozzi*,

(*b*) Manucci, Vita di Cos. I. Gr. Duca.

of the preceding part of the work. He supplied also the Books of Metaphysics from the commentaries of the Arabs.

Lorenza Strozzi.

From his sister Lorenza Strozzi, a Religious Dominicane, we have some hymns, which are far from contemptible.

Lorenzo Strozzi. Giovanni Batista Strozzi, "Il Cieco."

Lorenzo Strozzi, the brother and historian of Filippo Strozzi, left Giovanni Batista (*c*) surnamed "Il Cieco— "the Blind (*d*)," the Mecænas of his age.—Florence owes to him its academy "degli Alterati," which has produced so many great men.—Janus Nicius Erythræus, or Giovanni Vettore Rossi hath given a splendid character of this Giovanni Batista, by saying "that the regret of his country "on his death was not to be described, and that he was "bewailed by the favourites of genius disinherited by "fortune, who lost in him their master, their patron, "their friend and benefactor (*e*)!"

Piero

(*c*) "Haud obscuri nominis vates Jo. Bapt. Strozza, natus ex connubio Laurentii, Philippi primi Strozzæ filii, et Lucretiæ Oricellariæ, filiæ Bernardi Oricellarii, et Nanninæ Mediceæ, Petri primi filiæ." *Bandini, Spec. Lit. Flor.*

(*d*) Weak eyes and blindness were common at Florence, and on this circumstance Angel. Politianus founds a compliment to Lorenzo de' Medici the Magnificent.

"Cæca fuit quondam tua dicta Fluentia, sed nunc
Cuncta oculos illi te tribuente videt.
Otia namque piis statuisti dulcia Musis,
Quas patriæ veros dixeris esse oculos."

(*e*) "Summâ ille cum laude omnes ætatis industriæque suæ nervos in eo conten-

Piero Strozzi.

Piero Strozzi, secretary of the briefs to Leo the XIth and Paul the Vth, excelled so much in the science of architecture as to be almost without a cotemporary equal. —His talents were universally acknowledged, and exposed him to the envy of the artists by profession, who saw themselves surpassed by a person of quality and uncommon learning also in other parts of literature and science.

In 1664 a Count Strozzi came into France with a commission from the Emperor Leopold to request succours against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary with an army of near two hundred thousand men, under the command of the Vizir Mahomet Coprogli.—He received a supply of six thousand French troops, and having succeeded in his negotiation he returned into Hungary to command the Imperialists.—The Count de' Serin had under his orders a corps of Hungarians, and the

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dit, ut patria iis rebus pollens existeret, quibus veræ rerumpublicarum fortunæ continentur. Etenim præclara adolescentium ingenia, quæ natura ad omnes egregias artes, tanquam inchoaverat atque dolaverat, excipiebat, ut expoliret atque perficeret. Erat ille philosophicis doctrinis instructus, Græcis ac Latinis litteris doctus, poeticæ facultatis ita peritus, ut non cum æqualibus suis solum, sed cum majoribus etiam natu poetis, compararetur; cujus rei magnam illi facultatem dabat insignis Academia, quæ suis in ædibus, magno litteratorum omnium, qui erant Florentiæ, concursu celebrabatur. Erat oculis, pituitâ e capite defluente, captus; quæ calamitas multos ejus familiæ viros invasit. Mortuus in patriâ, triste omnibus sui desiderium reliquit, sed ejus obitus iis luctuosus fuit inprimis, qui multum ingenii, parum vero a fortunæ muneribus instructi, ducem, magistrum, patronum ac regem sibi ereptum esse querebantur." *Janus Nicius Erythræus.*

the auxiliaries were intrusted to the Count de Hollach.—These three Generals were seldom of the same opinion.—The two first had great courage, but Strozzi was never intended by Nature to command an army, the Count de Serin knew nothing of a siege, and Hollach only knew how to contradict his colleagues.—Montecuculi afterwards was invested with the general command, and the Turks were defeated at the battle of St. Godard.

Carlo Strozzi.

Carlo Strozzi, who died in 1670, was a celebrated antiquarian, and from his laborious researches had the name of "Pater Antiquitatis."—He collected the famous library of manuscripts belonging to the family.

Leone Strozzi.

Leone Strozzi, at the beginning of the present century, was the author of a very learned treatise "di tutte le pietre dure, e piu preziose."

The two poets Tito and Ercolo Strozzi, father and son, and friends of Ariosto, were descended from a branch of the family settled at Ferrara.—Paulus Iovius hath left an elogium of the son.

The Strozzi family, with all the titles of the first nobility, subsists at Florence, and the present Chamberlain of her Royal Highness the Great Duchess of Tuscany is the Duke Ferdinand Strozzi.

Returning

Ippolito de' Medici.

Returning from this excursion into the Strozzi family to that of Medici, Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, left no children by Filiberta of Savoy, but during his exile he had a son, Ippolito, by a lady of the Urbino family.—Leo the Xth took care of his nephew's education (*f*), and his talents highly deserved his notice and attention.—A greater genius was not to be found, nor a greater taste for the arts and sciences, and letters.—The learned languages were familiar to him almost from his infancy, and he excelled in verse and prose.—Berni (*g*) and other writers mention his translation into blank verse of Virgil's second book of the Æneid, and he was a perfect musician on every instrument. On the flute he was astonishing—he was the first violin in Italy—and on the trumpet (*h*) without a rival.—His liberality was boundless,

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(*f*) "Creato Leone Pontifice triennis cum nutrice Romam venit: tantâ verò suavissimi oris indole, sermonisque festivi lepore mirabili extitit, ut Pontifex eo ad pedes ludente mirum in modum oblectaretur, et ea specie in cænaculo Vaticano (uti videmus) exactissimè pingi juberet." *Paul. Iov.*

"Hieri vidi il S. Hippolitino nel giardino della casa di N. S. più bello, che alcuno de fiori di quel giardino." *Ex. Epist. Bembi.*

(*g*) "Io ho sentito dir tante faccende,
Della traduzion di quel secondo
Libro, ove Troja misera s'incende;
Ch'io bramo averlo, più che mezzo il mondo;
Hovelo detto, e voi non rispondete."
Berni al Card. Ippol.

(*h*) "Prædulcis citharœdus, lyristes numerosus, fistulator eximius, et incomparabilis tibicen, membranea tympana bellico crepitu militares animos excitantia, diversissimis concentûs numeris editis, cum nostrorum, tum barbarorum more, stupendâ imitatióne propulsabat." *Paul. Iov.*

to refuse a request was not in his power—and it was not with gold alone that he rewarded genius and talents.—With the artist and the learned he lived on the most friendly terms, as their equal and companion—his service had nothing harsh nor austere—nothing humiliating—and his dependants felt nothing of his superiority.—These splendid abilities were notwithstanding lowered or obscured by a fickleness and inconstancy without example.—Full of ingenuity and life, his mercurial mind could not bring itself to fix on any settled plan. In his conduct agitation, volatility, levity, and inconsistency, where wholly predominant.—His inattention to the little duties of life, if any duties can be little, and a weak passion for ostentation, carried beyond all bounds, disgusted Clement the VIIth, and chilled his friendship for him.—He was a nearer relation, according to the common opinion, of Clement the VIIth than Alessandro, and it was natural to imagine that a proximity of blood would have given him the first title to the sovereignty of Florence.—His youthful indiscretion however lost him the favour of the Roman Pontiff, and from the want of a proper attention to him he forfeited his pretensions to a Government of which Fortune had given him so flattering a prospect.

Clement the VIIth, notwithstanding the Cardinal Cortona with his two wards had been forced to quit Florence, determined to reinstate the Medici, and the stipulations which he entered into on his peace with the Emperor insured his success. Ippolito was in the way of his favourite nephew, and to remove such a dangerous competitor he bestowed on him a Cardinal's Hat, in defiance of his illegitimate birth, and added to it a number of rich benefices.

Created a Cardinal.

Fra Paolo (*a*) relates, that the abuse of a multiplicity of Commendams was carried to such an uncommon excess, that ever since the birth of the troubles excited by Luther, and during the time that the Christian world loudly called for a Reform, Clement the VIIth had the indecency to bestow a Commendam on the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, his cousin, all the vacant benefices in Christendom, secular as well as regular, simple, and charged with the cure of souls, with all the dignities and personalities for six months, from the day on which he took possession of them, with full power and authority to dispose of, or convert to his own use, their fruits and produce.

The Cardinal Pallavicini (*b*) disputes this assertion because Fra Paolo has not produced his evidence, but as this spiritual writer does not usually cite his documents, his omission of them in this case will not impeach his credit. If, however, the fact related by Fra Paolo were false, it would not be less certain that Clement the VIIth's nephew

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(*a*) *Lib.* 2. (*b*) *Lib.* 9. *c.* 9.

nephew had been enriched by benefices and bishoprics beyond all bounds.—Where was the Cordelier Menot (*c*)? who exclaimed " Two Mitres and two Crosses," " et adhuc non sunt contenti!"—This deluge, however, of Ecclesiastical favour was poured on Ippolito against his inclinations, temporal grandeur being his principal wish, which he only lost sight of with his life.

Alessandro de' Medici placed at the head of the Florentine Government.

Alessandro de' Medici, after the surrender of Florence, was placed at the head of the Government, and the consummate pride and restless audacity of Cardinal Ippolito were at once visible.—Overpowered by his passions, he wished to take the advantage of Alessandro's absence, whom the Emperor kept in Flanders, and attempted to seize the Government, but the ill-concerted enterprise miscarried.

Clement the VIIth some time afterwards sent a reinforcement of troops to the Emperor against the Turks, who

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(*c*) This celebrated Cordelier, who died in 1518, had distinguished himself as a popular preacher by his pious farces and discourses, in which there was a great mixture of sublimity, buffoonery, and vulgar wit. " Les bûcherons," he observes in one of them, " coupent de grosses et de petites branches dans les forêts, et en font des fagots: ainsi nos ecclésiastiques, avec des dispenses de Rome, entassent gros et bénéfices. Le chapeau de cardinal est lardé d'évêchés, et les évêchés lardés d'abbayes et de prieures, et le tout lardé de Diables. Il faut que tous ces biens de l'Eglise passent les trois Cordelieres de *l'Ave Maria:* car le *Benedicta tu,* sont grosses abbayes de Bénédictins; *in mulicribus,* c'est Monsieur et Madame; et *fructus ventris,* ce sont banquets et goinfreries."

who threatened Hungary, and Ippolito was invested with the power of the Pope's Legate. This employment, wholly military, was more suited to his taste, though he conducted himself on the occasion with his usual levity. —The Italian troops mutinied, and Ippolito was suspected of having fomented the revolt.—Charles the Vth, whose pleasure or whose fortune it was to have illustrious prisoners, put Ippolito under arrest, though he afterwards set him at liberty that he might not again irritate the Pope's former wounds, which were still bleeding.—Clement the VIIth had the misfortune to see the animosities between Alessandro and Ippolito increase, but his eyes were not witnesses to their last excesses.

In the Conclave which followed his death Ippolito contributed as far as he was able to the election of Paul the IIId of Farnese, which he had afterwards great reason to lament. The new Pontiff forgot the promise he had made him of the appointment of Legate of Ancona, that he had at heart, where he might have given his cousin Alessandro some uneasiness.—Some of the historians pretend that Alessandro discovered about this time a conspiracy against his life, in which Ippolito had engaged, and Paulus Iovius asserts it very positively.—The strict connection between the Cardinal, Filippo Strozzi, and the Florentine exiles, has been already mentioned.—According to appearances Ippolito would have been their dupe if he had lived, but on his journey to meet the Emperor

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Death of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.

at Tunis he found himself suddenly attacked by a violent disorder of which he died.—Paulus Iovius, the perpetual panegyrist of Alessandro, pretends Ippolito died a natural death.—Every other historian has not a doubt of his being taken off by poison; and whilst some writers accuse the sons of Paul the IIId, to whom every crime was familiar, and who succeeded to his rich spoils, others with more probability have charged Alessandro with it. —Whatever inquiries were made into it, or pretended to be made, they were fruitless, and the transaction has remained in its original uncertainty.

His character.

If age had ripen'd Ippolito's understanding, and he had passed that happy but tempestuous season of life, which is in fact but a perpetual delirium, or as the English philosopher Hobbes has expressed it "A NATURAL "DRUNKENNESS," perhaps he might have been a great character. Yet he might also have been a living instance how dangerous it is to prefer too long the flower to the fruit, and agreeable and specious accomplishments to useful talents and solid acquisitions.—The similitude between him and Leo the Xth was striking.—No person died more regretted.—His death was a thunder-stroke that plunged Rome into mourning and affliction, and it ruined legions of Men of Letters, Virtuosi, and the unprotected!—The Arts, Sciences, and Letters were not only patronised by him, but all the graceful exercises; persons who excelled in them had been assembled from all quarters of the globe; more than twenty different languages were spoken in his palace (*d*); and the music of every country echoed from its walls.—If he had wished, like the Cardinal Madruci for a serenade by all his dependants at once, like him he might have exclaimed " Eccovi l'Arca di Noë."

Moors, Ethiopians, Turks, Tartars, and Indians formed part of his establishment.—Some excelled in horsemanship, others in dancing, on the lute, in the chace, and almost every other similar pursuit.—Their Patron was their disciple, their rival, and their friend.—Yet these tastes were rather incompatible with his dignity, and began to be inconsistent with his age.—Ippolito died at thirty; Alessandro and the Farnese triumphed at his death, the Florentine exiles appeared to weep over his untimely bier, but they laughed under the mask of apparent grief (*e*).

Ippolito

(*d*) " Floruit Hippolyte, et tecum fato occidit uno,
Quod reliquum antiquæ laudis et artis erat.
Id tua claudebat totum augustissima quondam
Orbis terræ instar quæ domus una fuit,
Nec tibi magno animo quisquam se æquasset et ausis
Grandibus, aut largâ munificâque manu;
Nec poterat Fortuna tuis multum addere rebus,
Quum juveni injecit mors violenta manum.
Tunc bis te undenis de gentibus ora clientum
Fleverunt, cineres condideruntque tuos."
Ant. Vacca.

(*e*) "———— lacrymas non sponte cadentes,
Effudêre, cient gemitus de pectore læto."
Lucan. lib. 9. 1038, 1039.

Asdrubale de' Medici.

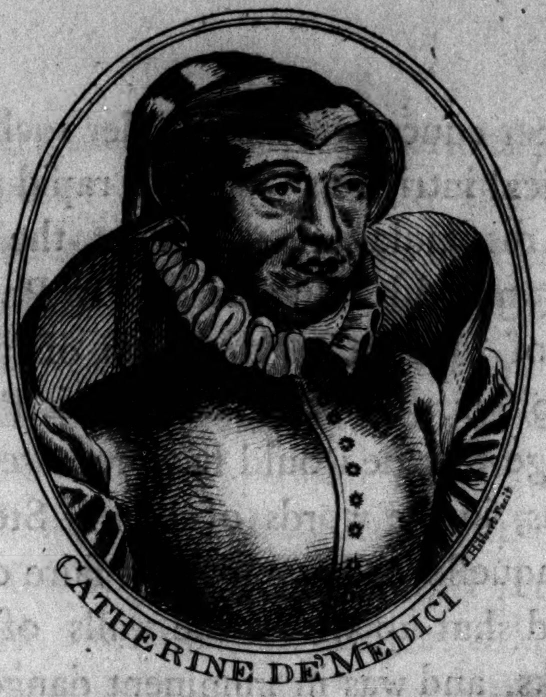
Ippolito left by a mistress Asdrubale de' Medici, afterwards a Knight of Malta, only known by two or three detached passages.—Amongst the letters of Annibale Caro there is one (*f*) addressed to him, though we have no information from it, except that he had a share in the defence of Malta under the Grand Master de la Valette. According to Dempster (*g*), he inherited the genius of his father, and in all likelihood he succeeded to his property and fortune, as there is a private Bull existing, though it is not inserted in the general collection, by virtue of which the illegitimate children of Cardinals succeed "AB INTESTATO" to effects acquired at the distance of forty miles from Rome.—Asdrubale de' Medici died at Pisa.

(*f*) Dated the 24th of April, 1565.

(*g*) "Hasdrubal Mediceus, filius Hippolyti spurius, Eques Melitensis, clarâ et ipse indole, Pisis obiit." *Dempster. Etr. Reg. T.* 2. *p.* 486.

CHAP. XI.

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI—Her danger during the siege of Florence—Married to the Duke of Orleans—Believed at first to lean to the Huguenot Party—Falls into the hands of the Duke of Guise—Her political views—Declares the young King of age—Battle of St. Denis—Battle of Jarnac, and death of the Prince de Condé—Massacre on St. Bartholomew's day—Irresolution of the King strengthened by the arts of Catherine de' Medici—Death of Charles the IXth—Formation of the League—Catherine de' Medici loses her political influence—Her flagitious conduct—Assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother—Death of Catherine de' Medici—Her character—Baneful education of her children—Charles the IXth's horrors before his death—Ronsard the Poet—Clement Marot—Amyot—Luigi Alamanni—Alberto Gondi—The Count de Retz—Charles de Gondi--Seigneur de la Tour--Peter de Gondi—Henry de Gondi—John Francis de Gondi—Cardinal de Retz—Margaret Frances de Gondi—Jacopo Corbinelli—Bernardo Corbinelli—Rafaello Corbinelli—Alessandro de' Medici the first Duke of Florençe—Marries Margaret the Emperor's daughter—Assassinated by Lorenzo de' Medici—Profligacy of his character—Giulio de' Medici—Porcia de' Medici--Giuletta de' Medici.



CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

CHAP. XI.

Catherine de' Medici.

THE birth of the celebrated Catherine de' Medici, destined to renew the rage of Brunehaud and the fury of Fredegonde, cost her mother Maddalena de Tours her life, and her father the Duke of Urbino having died the same year, she became an orphan under the protection of her great uncle Leo the Xth.—Catherine was the last legitimate branch of Cosmo de' Medici, the Father of his Country.—The Pope, on the death of Lorenzo, had united to the patrimony of the Holy See the Dutchy of Urbino, and Francesco Maria della Rovera, its lawful hereditary Sovereign, reconquered it on the death of Leo. —Notwithstanding these different revolutions Catherine de' Medici still retained the title of Dutchess of Urbino. —Her aunt Clarice, the consort of Filippo Strozzi, had

Her danger during the siege of Florence.

the care of her education, and under such an able mistress of political intrigue she made a rapid progress in the elements of dissimulation.—Clement the VIIth, it has been said, promised her in marriage to Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange, as the price of his conquest of Florence, though it is not certain if this Prince had survived the siege that he would have received her hand.—Catherine was, in the words of Henry Stephens, “Une pierre de laquelle le Pape voulait faire de plus grands coups,” and shut up within the walls of Florence she ran many risks, and was in imminent danger.—Two citizens lost their heads on the scaffold after the capitulation, one for having expressed a wish of exposing her to the fire of the enemy's batteries, and the other for the more infamous proposal of abandoning her to the prostitution of the populace (*a*).—In the second interview between the Emperor and the Pope, the former pressed Clement to bestow her in marriage on Sforza the Duke of Milan, but the overtures from the French Court occasioned a rejection of the Emperor's offer.—Francis the Ist solicited the alliance for his son the Duke of Orleans, and Anne de Montmorenci negotiated the treaty of marriage, who had afterwards so many reasons to lament the success of his services.—Clement the VIIth eagerly accepted the proposals for this splendid alliance, which at first he had great difficulty

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(*a*) Battista Cei was the author of the former proposition, Bernardo Castiglione of the latter. Both were laid before the Council, and unanimously rejected with the horror they deserved.

difficulty to persuade himself was seriously intended.— Having discovered his suspicions to the Emperor, on whom he pretended to rely, Charles assured him that if he pressed the business he would perceive the whole to be an illusion.—Clement followed the advice, warmly hurried on the treaty, and expressed his wishes so very forcibly that the necessary powers for the contract were immediately forwarded and signed. Catherine de' Medici's journey and voyage were hastened with all possible expedition, and soon after she had embarked she landed at Marseilles.

> " Le flot qui l'aporta recule épouvanté."

Married to the Duke of Orleans.

Clement the VIIth attended the ceremony in person, gave his apostolic benediction on the marriage, and drew the curtains of the bridal bed, or as the author of the " Discours Merveilleux" more strongly expresses it, " ne " pût onc s'en bien assurer qu'il ne les eut vûs couchés " ensemble."

The pliable and artful Florentine soon insinuated herself into Francis the Ist's favour, and the only obtacle of her ambitious views was soon removed by the sudden and unexpected death of the Dauphin Francis, for the other brother Charles, to whom the Ambassador of the Thirteen Cantons who held him at the baptismal font, had given the Hebrew name of Abednego, was Henry's younger brother.

Historians have often poisoned with their pens princes who have died a natural death, yet the violent end of the Dauphin can be scarcely doubted, though a celebrated author has questioned it in several parts of his works.—The punishment, and what is stronger evidence of the fact, the confession of Montecuculi, appear to prove it very clearly.—The public voice accused the Emperor, or, from motives of delicacy, his ministers, though it is impossible to divine what could have induced either the Monarch or his ministers to commit so black a crime.—Not the least suspicion then fell on the youthful Catherine, but when her frightful character afterwards unfolded itself the reflection naturally occurred of the powerful interest she had in the Dauphin's death, by which her husband became immediately presumptive heir to the throne of France.—The antient adage was not forgotten, "IS FECIT CUI PROFECIT."—Aretin speaks very equivocally of Henry's succession to the crown, when he says "he did not receive it by accident, but by the MYSTERY "of Fate (*b*)," and the President De Thou expresses himself more decidedly. It is however superfluous to blacken Catherine de' Medici's character with additional crimes, and calumny is itself so very atrocious that we ought even to fear calumniating the infamous and wicked.—It should also be remembered that Catherine was then only seventeen years of age, which is not the age of great crimes, except

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(*b*) "Non si vanti la sorte d'averlo assunto in Rè senza solenne misterio di fato."

except in the case of fanaticism, which boils in youthful blood, and cools as it grows old.

During the first ten years of Henry the IId's marriage with Catherine de' Medici they had not any family, and a divorce was in contemplation to enable the Monarch to marry again, with the hopes of providing an heir to the throne.—A Florentine, Giovanni Rondinelli, pretends it was so far determined on that Catherine threw herself at the French King's feet, and begged as her last request she might not be given in marriage to any inferior person, but sent back to Florence to the convent "Delle "Murate," where she had been educated. The King, touched with her tears and resignation, gave her his hand, and assured her, on the faith of a man of honour (*c*), his usual oath, that she should live and die Henry's consort (*d*).

It

(*c*) "On the Faith of a Gentleman" was the simple oath of Francis the Ist. Charles the Vth, his rival, also constantly made use of a similar expression, but there was an essential difference between them. Francis the Ist religiously observed his oath, Charles the Vth in general acted contrary to what he had sworn, and adopted in its full extent the maxim of the French poet,

> "Il faut SEMBLER homme de BIEN
> Et cependant ne VALOIR RIEN."

(*d*) "Non portando figluoli, e forte dubitando del suo ripudio, sentì lungo spazio nella Regal Signoria, molto maggiore il peso della sollicitudine, che il piacer dell' imperio. E come savia si mise in animo di sostenere e aspettar virilmente checchè di lei avvenir dovesse, sempre col suo sapere e colle realissime sue maniere ingegnandosi, non solo di mantenersi nella grazia del suo marito, ma di sempre più andarla acquistando, lui osservando, e come prudentissima, ogni riverenza al Rè Francesco

It is a received opinion that Fernel the celebrated physician had been consulted on the sterility of their nuptial bed, and that Henry ask'd him in plain but curious terms if he could procure him a family.—Fernel very properly and very prudently replied, " that it rested with Provi-" dence to bless him with children, and that he could " only prescribe those medicines which in its bounty it " had created for the relief of human infirmities (*e*)."—Four sons and as many daughters were afterwards the fruit of their mutual love.—Catherine, with the thirst alone of reigning, gave her husband no uneasiness by any importunate jealousy, and saw without concern the colours, the crest, and cypher of Diana de Potiers, her rival, flying wherever she went. The Louvre, stuck full of the initial letters of the youthful Monarch and his Mistress, twisted amorously together, did not affect her temper or her spirits, and she even shewed an extraordinary attention and more than common civility to her rival, that she might

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portando. Al quale, pur tuttavia temendo (oh umiltà ripiena d'altissimo senno!) chiese ella ispezial grazia, che dovendo prendere Arrigo il suo marito altra donna, non sappiendo la forza del matrimonio, lei non volesse ad altro uomo rimaritare, ma nel venerando monistero delle Murate, ond'ella prima era uscita, gli piacesse di ritornarla. Piacque cotanto a quel magnanimo principe quest' atto ripieno d'inudita umiltà, che, confortatola, l'assicurò, che ella e viverebbe e morebbe moglie d'Arrigo." *Orazione in morte di Catarina, da Giov. Rondinelli.*

(*e*) " Docteur ferais-tu bien un enfant à ma femme?" was Henry's question, and " c'est a Dieu, Monseigneur, à vous donner des enfans par sa benediction, C'EST A VOUS A LES FAIRE, et à moi à y aporter ce qui est de la Medicine ordonnée de Dieu pour la remede des infirmités humaines" Fernel's reply.

might not prejudice her in the King's favour. Henry, indeed, notwithstanding his attachment to his antient mistress, behaved with decent tenderness to his youthful Queen, and often said, if we are to believe Brantome, "que sur toutes les femmes du monde, il n'y avoit que la "Reine sa femme, et qu'il n'en savoit aucune qui la vas- "lût: il avoit raison de le dire," adds Brantome, "car "c'estoyt une belle Princesse et aymable (*a*)."

During her husband's reign, however, her interest and influence were trifling. The King, it has been supposed, was well aware of her disposition, knew what little confidence was to be placed in her, and under a conviction of her pernicious principles when he intrusted her with the administration in his absence in Germany, that procured France three bishoprics, he left such vigilant guardians of her conduct as rendered her the Regent but in name.

Montgomeri's fatal lance having rendered her a widow, she connected herself very closely with the Dukes of Guise, uncles of the young Queen of the Scots, and whether she had not yet fathomed the depth of their ambition, or believed their situation as strangers would point out to them the propriety of being satisfied with a share of the authority which the Princes of the Blood wholly

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(*a*) *Brantome, tom.* 2. 264.

wholly claimed, she concurred with them in keeping at a distance and humiliating the Bourbons.—She mistook their characters, and they became all-powerful during the reign of their feeble nephew.—Catherine de' Medici, stung to the heart and dissatisfied, appeared however to act in concert with these illustrious tyrants, and contented herself with the precaution of exposing them alone to the odious obloquy of the vengeance at Amboise (*b*), and the fruitless sentence against the Prince of Condé.

The death of Francis the IId changed the whole face of affairs, and the power and the credit of the Guises sunk at once, and the Bourbon Family resumed its influence.—Catherine was solicitous to exclude them all, in order to hold the reins of Government herself.—It was then she adopted the maxim on which she acted for the rest of her life, that "TO DIVIDE WAS TO GOVERN."

—The

(*b*) The President De Thou has entered into a detailed account of the attempt on Amboise. Of the severity of the Guises the Reader may form his own judgment.—"Præcipitata multorum judicia ac supplicia, cum alii noctu ad pinnas arcis suspenderentur; alii, quorum spectaculo homines permoveri posse metus erat, IN PROFUNDUM MERGERENTUR, interdiu vero permulti ad supplicia MORE INSOLITO rapiebantur, SINE ELOGIO AC CRIMINIS TITULO, et sine vocali carnificis præconio, denique NOMINIBUS DAMNATORUM SUPPRESSIS: ita ut FLUMEN CADAVERIBUS SUPERNATARET, OPPIDI VICI SANGUINE EXUNDARENT, PLATEÆ HOMINUM PATIBULIS SUFFICIORUM SILVA HORRESCERENT, duces ultimi servati, ut PER TORMENTA ex eorum ore conjurationis conscii noscerentur." *Jac. Thuani Hist. lib.* 24.—I am now entering on beaten ground, and there is scarcely an inch that has not been already occupied. I shall therefore borrow very freely from my predecessors in the following Notes to this Chapter, and in adding the names of the authors to whom I am indebted I conceive myself to have discharged my obligations.

—The feeble Navarre gave her not the shadow of apprehension or inquietude, except from his rank as first Prince of the Blood; but she saw with a malignant eye the strict intimacy formed between the Constable and the elder of the Guises, which seemed to threaten the ruin of all her projects.—The religious troubles soon afterwards disturbed the kingdom, and the edict of July, 1561, was only a palliative.—From many circumstances it was believed that the Queen leaned towards the Huguenot party, and the Roman Catholics were violently alarmed at her confidence in Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Colloque de Poissy.—Pius the IVth grew pale and trembled on his apparently receding throne at her famous letter, in which she frankly told him "that the number of those "who had quitted the Church of Rome was so much increased that neither law nor force was capable of reducing them; that many of the first personages of the "kingdom seduced others by their example; that as there "was not a single individual amongst them who did not "admit the first six councils, many persons were of opinion that they might be safely admitted to the communion; that if his Holiness should be of a different sentiment, and thought it preferable to wait the decision of "a General Council, it would be necessary to have recourse to some provisional remedy for many who had "not yet wholly separated themselves; that for this purpose it might be prudent to remove the images out of "the Churches, which Gregory had condemned, and

Believed at first to lean to the Huguenot party.

"God

"God had forbidden; to leave out "the saliva" at baptism, and other superstitious ceremonies which were "not absolutely prescribed by the Word of God; that "the Curates ought to explain the passages of Scripture "relating to the Eucharist; that the feast of the Holy "Sacrament, which had been instituted only for its pomp, "should be abolished; that the cup should be given to "the laity, and that the prayers should be delivered in "the common tongue."

The edict of January 1562, that gave the Huguenots permission to meet publicly, occasioned the massacre at Vassy, and brought on those hostilities for which there had been long an inclination.—The Guises entered Paris in triumph, in direct opposition of the Queen's orders, and in disobedience of her positive injunctions. She felt the insult very sensibly, but she trembled before the formidable Triumvirate, as the league between the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshal de St. André, had been called.—Apprehensive these three powerful subjects might attempt to possess themselves of the sovereign authority, under the specious pretext of supporting the established Religion, she resolved to call to her assistance the only person she could employ, and recommending to the Prince of Condé the King, herself, her children, and the kingdom, conjured him to employ his whole force and power against their common adversaries.—Condé having retired to Meaux, the Duke of Guise did not let slip

Falls into the hands of the Duke of Guise.

slip the opportunity, and appeared at Court with great state, and with a numerous body of guards.—He flattered himself that Catherine de' Medici, taking into contemplation the respective power of the two parties, would be forced, whatever might be her inclinations, to attach herself to the strongest, and he did not deceive himself. The enterprise succeeded, and the Triumvirate became the master of the Court (*c*).

Condé

(*c*) "Davila has given the most satisfactory and interesting detail of Catherine's conduct during this whole transaction. It is beyond a doubt that she yielded to a force which she was unable to resist; and that she exerted every artifice to induce the King of Navarre and the "Triumvirate" to leave herself and the young King at liberty. She even used so many powerful arguments to incline them to permit her to remain at Fontainbleau, where the Court would at least have had the appearance of being free, that the King of Navarre and the Constable were on the point of yielding to her intreaties, if the Duke of Guise had not dissuaded them from any such compliance.

De Thou says, that in a Council which was held by the "Triumvirate," the Marechal de St. André proceeded to such lengths of violence as to propose to throw the Queen Mother into the Seine, if she should dare to oppose or impede the journey to Paris. He adds, that Catherine had prepared a boat in which she meant to carry off her son Charles the IXth, during the night previous to their departure from Fontainbleau, but that she found it impossible to deceive the vigilance of Montmorenci.—" The Queen Mother," says Davila, "perceiving it in vain to attempt any resistance to the peremptory requisition of the Catholic Lords, and of Anthony, instantly resolved to yield with grace; and mounting on horseback, with the King and her two younger sons, being surrounded by the "Triumvirate" and their attendants, reached Milan that night; from whence they proceeded on the following day to Paris.—The young King," continues Davila, "was seen to weep on that occasion, being conscious that he was treated as a prisoner; the Regent, perplexed in mind, foreseeing a civil war, and finding all her projects overthrown, spoke not a word, but observed a gloomy silence; while the Duke of Guise, regardless of the King's tears, or of the Queen Mother's distress, was heard publicly to say, 'that the good is always good, whether it proceed from love or from force.'—These are the most interesting circumstances of that memorable transaction." *Wraxall's Hist. of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol.* 2. 122. 8*vo*. 1785.

Her political views.

Condé having learned the fluctuation in the Queen's councils, and seeing himself overreached by his enemies seized on Orleans.—Catherine turned all her attention towards the best mode of weakening both these factions, and she fondly hoped not only to be able to reduce them to a level with each other, but also to cripple them in such a manner, as she might easily acquire again an absolute power.—With these insidious intentions she involved them in a long train of artful negotiations. The Bishop Montluc, her confidant, prevailed on Condé, under the idea of getting rid of the Triumvirate, to make the offer of quitting the kingdom if his rivals would subscribe to the same condition; which the Bishop assured him would do him immortal honour, and overwhelm his enemies with odium and disgrace.—The Queen eagerly accepted the proposal, and nothing could have happened more agreeable to her than to see herself at once delivered from four persons who were all equal to her in authority and influence.—Condé's proposition was not, however, successful, a bloody war was soon kindled on every side, and Fortune on the plains of Dreux seemed to be undecisive in the choice of the hero that was to be her future favourite.

The Great Duke of Guise being assassinated at the siege of Orleans (*d*), the Queen thought it high time to put

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(*d*) " Davila says, that the Duke was shot by Poltrot on the 24th of February in put an end to the war, from the fear of giving too much power to the Prince of Condé or the Constable, whom she now considered as the leaders of the two hostile parties.—After the Edict of Peace, and the capture of Havre de Grace, with a view of depriving them both of their hopes of governing, she declared the King of age, and

Declares the young King of age.

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the evening, being the feast of St. Matthias, that the assassin was mounted on a swift Jennet, and discharged three balls into his right shoulder, all which passing through his body laid him on the ground as dead. He agrees with Brantome in many of the particulars respecting the Duke's death; and adds, that he expired on the third day from that on which he received the wound.

De Thou coincides with the historians already mentioned as to all the leading facts. He is very minute in his account of Poltrot, and mentions many curious circumstances relative to that fanatic, which tend to hold up in the strongest point of view, the atrocious spirit of the times, when devotion and the most flagitious crimes were continually found united in the same person and character. In his interrogation before the Queen Mother and the principal Lords of the Court, Poltrot, among many other facts which he confessed, and which evince the force of that gloomy and sanguinary enthusiasm by which he was actuated, declared 'that only a few moments before he killed the Duke of Guise, he had dismounted from his horse in a neighbouring wood, and on his knees had urgently besought the Lord to turn his mind, and to change his resolution, if it arose from the suggestions of the Evil Spirit.'—Many similar instances occur in the history of these melancholy times, when the human mind was under the dominion of the most inveterate errors, heightened and inflamed by the acrimony of religious differences. Jacques Clement, the Jacobin Friar, who stabbed Henry the IIId in 1589, received the sacrament and passed the day in prayer, previous to an act of regicide and assassination.

Brantome, who served under the Duke of Guise, and was at the siege of Orleans, has given the most minute account of the circumstances of this assassination. "On the evening when the Duke was killed," says he, "only Monsieur de Rostain accompanied him, and he had just passed the river in a little boat which constantly waited for that purpose. Poltrot immediately fled on discharging his pistol; and affecting to be a pursuer of the assassin, cried out 'Take him! take him!'—The Duke, perceiving himself dangerously wounded, only said 'L'on me devoit celle-la mais je crois que ce ne sera rien.'" *Wraxall's Hist. of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol.* 2. 144—146.

and after this vain parade he was more than ever under his Mother's influence and power.—Ordinances, directly contrary to the Edict of Peace, excited fresh complaints from the Huguenots, who had reason likewise to suspect (*e*) on the interview between Catherine de' Medici and the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, a treaty had been concluded which would be productive of the most calamitous consequences.

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(*e*) "De Thou gives credit to the suspicion of measures having been concerted at Bayonne for the extermination of the Protestants; though he seems to rest the proof of such an intention chiefly on the assertion of the Calvinist Writers themselves. Jean Baptista Adriani, who was the continuator of Guicciardini's History, confirms the accusation, and adds, that the conferences between Catherine and the Duke of Alva were held at the desire of the Pope; that it was determined to renew the SICILIAN VESPERS, and not to spare even the persons of the highest quality or distinction. It is even pretended that the city of Moulins, where an assembly of the principal nobility was convoked to meet in January 1566, was destined to be the scene of this Tragedy.—Davila expressly avows Catherine's intention of cutting off the heads of heresy, and destroying the Hugonots. He only says, that the Duke of Alva was of opinion to employ the most violent and sanguinary measures; while the Queen Mother, consulting the genius of the French Nation, reluctant to imbrue her hands in the blood of the first Nobility and Princes of the Royal Family, dreading a renewal of the civil commotions, and fearful of the dismemberment of the Kingdom by the introduction of English and German auxiliaries, leaned to more gentle and temporizing counsels.—Nothing can be better established than the secret consultations for the destruction of the Hugonots, during the interview of Bayonne, though it is difficult to say how accurately the precise and minute features of that plan were traced. Francis de la Noue, a Protestant Writer, asserts that the Prince of Condé and Coligny received exact information of the intention to massacre themselves and their adherents at the assembly of Moulins. It is certain that they conceived a general well-founded suspicion of the hostile and treacherous designs of the Court from the time of the interview at Bayonne, and that it laid the foundation of the renewal of the civil war in little more than two years afterwards." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol.* 2. 158, 159.

Battle of St. Denis.

The Prince of Condé soon took up arms again, narrowly failed surprising the Court at Meaux, and blockaded Paris.—Montmorenci gave battle to him at St. Denis, and lost his life in the action (*a*).—Catherine blest
her

(*a*) "Il Contestabile ferito di quattro piccole ferite nel volto, e di un gran colpo di martello ferrato sopra la testa, combatteva tuttavia con grandissimo valore, e tentava di rimettere, e di riordinare la sua battaglia, quando Ruberto Stuardo di natione Scozzese se gli affaciò dinanzi con l'archibugio abbassato alla sua volta, al quale havendo detto il Contestabile. Tu non mi conosci, io sono il Contestabile, egli replicò, anzi perchè ti conosco, io ti appresento questa, e gli sparò la pistola nella spalla, per la violenza della quale cadendo egli par terra, avventò con tanto impeto nel viso allo Stuardo le reliquie della spada, la quale rotta la lama haveva ancora in mano, che rottigli trè denti, e fracassatagli la mascella, lo trasse a canto a se in terra, come per morto. ——— Fini il di seguente a quello della battaglia, il Contestabile i giorni suoi, havendo nell' età di ottanta anni combattuto con ferocia, e con valore giovenile, e dinostrato non meno l'ardire dell' animo, che il vigore del corpo. Mori senza turbatione di mente, e con grandissima costanza, si che essendosi accostato al letto ove giaceva, un religioso per volerlo confortare, egli rivoltatosi, con viso sereno, e quieto, LO PREGO, CHE NON LO MOLESTASSE, PERCHE SAREBBE STATA COSA MOLTO BRUTTA, LO HAVER SAPUTO VIVERE OTTANTA ANNI, E NON SAPERE MORIRE UN QUARTO D'HORA. Fù huomo di esquisitu solertia, e di matura prudenza accompagnata da una lunghissima esperienza degli accidenti del mondo, con le quali arti s'acquistò felicemente per se, e per i posteri grandissima copia di richezze, e le prime dignità, che soglia dispensare quella Corona; ma ne' comandi militari, fù accompagnato sempre da cosi cattiva fortuna, che in tutte le guerre, delle quali hebbe il governo, restò sempre ò perdente ò gravemente ferito, ò prigione; le quali disgratii furono anco cagione, che molte volte fosse revocata in dubbio la candidezza della sua fede, anzi in questa ultima prova, ove lasciò combattendo la vita, non mancarono gli emuli di accusarlo, che militando per servitio del Rè contro a' proprii nipoti, con l' attaccare la battaglia nell' inclinare del giorno, e con lasciare adietro la fanteria, non volesse conseguire, come haverebbe potuto, una vittoria perfetta. Quelli, che discorrevano senza passione delle qualità sue, gli davano per ordinario trè principali attributi, di BUON CAPITANO, di AMOREVOLE SERVITORE, ma di CATTIVO AMICO, affermando, che il proprio interesse reggeva sempre il corso di tutte l'attitioni sue." *Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia di H. C. Davila. tom.* 1. 186—188. *Folio. Venet.* 1738. Ro-

Battle of Jarnac, and death of the Prince de Condé.

her stars, though she cautiously concealed her joy.— From the perfidious infraction of a new edict Condé had again recourse to hostilities, and fell afterwards at the battle of Jarnac assassinated by Montesquiou (*b*), but the shattered

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Robert Stuart was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Jarnac, and being brought before Henry Duke of Anjou, the Marquis de Villars besought the Prince's permission to put him to death as an offering to the manes of Montmorenci. Henry long refused to consent to so base a murder; but at length overcome with the importunity of the Marquis, he turned his head aside and said "Well then—be it so!" Stuart, with animated entreaty, represented to him how ignominious and dastardly an action he was about to authorize, and endeavoured to awaken his compassion and sense of honour; but all was ineffectual: he was led a little on one side, disarmed, and put to death, in the very hearing of the Duke." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois. vol. 2.* 169.

(*b*) "Imperterrito vulta signa inferri jubet, tantaque vi impressionem fecit, ut obvios quosque ordines solveret, sed jam cum toto exercitu adveniente Andino a majore numero undique circumfusus, et post acerrimum ac sæpius restitutum certamen, dum ante alios pugnat, nullumque non solum ducis, sed militis officium hortando, pugnando, et ordines circumeundo prætermittit, tandem desertus a suis equo suffosso et supra incumbente oppressus est, ibi Eparchium Tisonem Argentium et Saninium conspicatus, et quis esset reducta galea professus, eorum se fidei permisit, verum illi cum de vita salvam fidem vicissim interposuisset, quominus eam servare potuerint, in causa fuit Montesquius Andivi stipatorum ductor, qui mox NON SINE OCCULTIS, UT CREDITUR, MANDATIS advenit, et cum ipsis collaquentem Condæum a tergo aggressus sclopetto in cervicem adacto confecit. Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonii Condæi regiæ sterpis viri supra natalium splendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illustrissimi, qui fortitudine, constantia, ingenio, solertia, rerum usu, comitate, facundia, libertate, quæ omnes simul virtutes in illo uno excellebant, paucos æqualeis, neminem sua ætate vel inimicorum confessione superiorem habuit." *Jac. A. Thuani, Hist. lib.* 45.

Brantome has undesignedly perpetuated the Duke of Anjou's disgrace in his account of the indignities offered to Condé's remains. "Monsieur le Prince, estant mort, Monsieur n'en fut nullement marry, mais tres joyeux, car il avoit opinion qu'il luy en eust faire de mesme: car d'ennemy à grand ennemy, il n'y a que se garder. Monsieur le voulut voir après la battaile acheveè: et son corps fut chargé SUR UNE VIELLE ANESSE, qui se trouva là à propos, plus par DERISION que shattered remains of the Huguenot army were preserved by the courage and resolution of Coligny, and in his intrepidity and talents the hopes of the Protestants revived. —Catherine de' Medici perceived that without stratagem and perfidy she could never succeed in the reduction of the Huguenots, and she laid the plan of drawing their chiefs and leaders within the reach of her poignard.— She proposed to give her second daughter in marriage to the young King of Navarre, and Coligny being invited to Court was loaded with caresses, of which he was the dupe or braved the danger.

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pour autre sujet; et fut porté ainsi BRAS ET JAMBES PENDANTES a Jarnac, en une basse salle sous celle de Monsieur.—Le dit Prince demeura assez en spectacle à tous ceux du camp qui le voulurent aller voir. Puis Monsieur de Longueville, son beau frere, en demanda le corps à Monsieur, pour le faire ensevelir, qui luy fut octroyé librement. Il fut fait de luy cette epitaph

L'an mil cinq cent soixante-neuf
Entre Jarnac et Chasteunneuf
Fut porté sur une asnesse
Cil qui vouloit oster la Mess."

Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 6. 340.

In the Henriade of Voltaire there is an apostrophe to the youthful Hero on this tragical story, which is as pathetic as it is beautiful.—

"O! Plaines de Jarnac! O! coup trop inhumain!
Barbare Montesquiou, moins guerrier qu'assassin
Condé deja mourant tombe sous ta furie;
J'ai vu porter le coup; j'ai vu trancher sa vie.
Helas! trop jeune encore, mon bras, mon foible bras
Ne put ni prevenir ni venger son trepas."

La Henriade, cant. 2. *Œuvres de Voltaire, tom.* 1. 67. *ed. Genev.* 8*vo.* 1775.

It has been generally believed that he was so effectually deceived, that neither repeated information from his friends, the sudden death of the Queen Mother of Navarre, nor even the attempt on his own person could open his eyes, and make him sensible of his perilous situation.—Perhaps, however, he waited the event with the magnanimity of an hero, and sick of the melancholy scenes of civil carnage which he had already witnessed, with the integrity of a patriot had determined his sword should be no longer stained with his country's blood (*c*).

Massacre on the night of St. Bartholomew.

The execrable night of St. Bartholomew, that masterstroke of Infernal Policy, will be for ever the horror of mankind!—A Prince upon the throne and a living Tyrant, will always find authors as infamous and criminal as themselves to attempt an excuse for their atrocious actions.—In our days, when the public philosophizes in prose and verse, when humanity is on every lip, was it to have been expected, this odious night so long passed, and this abandoned woman crumbled into dust nearly two

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(*c*) Every artifice had been made use of to draw the leaders of the Huguenots to Court, and to lull their remaining fears and apprehensions to sleep. When the Admiral came to pay his duty to his Sovereign, Charles assured him of his regard for him, and added with a perfidious smile, "Enfin nous vous tenons; vous ne vous eloignerez plus de nous quand vous le voudrez."—Such was the Royal treachery to which Coligny fell a sacrifice, for

"Rarement un heros connait la defiance."

As he lived he died,

"Avec toute sa gloire et toute sa vertu."

two centuries, should have found a single advocate?—Yet the MILD and MODEST Abbé de Caveirac has termed it only a "simple affair of Proscription (*d*)."—Admirable Excuse!—Exquisite Humanity!—By a single stroke of his pen the FEMALE DEMON rises like the swan with its white and unsullied plumage out of the transparent stream into which it had so deeply plunged!—Another REVEREND PRIEST has with the same ORTHODOX SPIRIT endeavoured to justify the Irish Massacre on the foolish and frightful argument "that to preserve one "half of a people the other may be lawfully destroyed."—Are such the principles of Christianity?—Are these the tenets of that Divine Religion, which breathes through every part of its heavenly system "Peace on earth, "Good-will towards men?"

Almost all the historians have taken notice of a festival at the Tuilleries four days before the massacre on the night of St. Bartholomew, in which the dreadful cruelties that hung so immediately over the heads of the Huguenots were emblematically represented (*e*).—In the Memoirs

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(*d*) "Ce ne fut, qu'une simple affaire de proscription."

(*e*) "Beatorum sedes artificiose ad dextram repræsentantur et paulo infra campi Elysii, qui a XII Nymphis occupabantur, ex adverso ad lævam Tartarus larvis et ad horrorem compositis mormoluceis sulphure et igne plenis crebro micans suberat. Paradisum quem vocabant, tuebantur Rex Andinus et Alenconius Fratres, quem perumpere conati complures bellatores errantes, quorum dux erat Navarrus, cum ad unum omnes repulsi essent, postremo in Tartarum præcipitati sunt. ——— Spectaculum illud multi aliter atque aliter interpretati sunt, quod oppugnatores, qui fere moirs of "l'Etat de France" under Charles the IXth there is a full description of this treacherous spectacle.—

"Premièrement en la dite salle, à main droite, il y "avoit le Paradis, l'entrée duquel étoit défendue par trois "Chevaliers armés de toutes pièces, qui étoyent Charles "et ses frères; à main gauche étoit l'Enfer, dans lequel "il y avoit un grand nombre de Diables et de petits Diabloteaux, faisant infinies singeries et tintamares avec "une grande roue tournante dans le dit Enfer, toute environnée de clochettes. Le Paradis et l'Enfer étoient "séparés par une rivière qui étoit entre deux, sur laquelle "il y avoit une barque conduite par Caron nautonnier "d'Enfer. A l'un des bouts de la salle et derrière le Paradis étoyent les Champs Elisées, à savoir un jardin embelli de verdures et de toutes sortes de fleurs; et le Ciel "Empirée, qui étoit une grande roue avec les douze "Signes du Zodiaque, les sept Planètes et une infinité de "petites Etoiles faites à jour, rendant une grande lueur "et éclat par le moyen des lampes et flambeaux, qui "étoyent artistement accommodés par derrière. Cette "roue étoit dans un continuel mouvement, faisant aussi "tourner le jardin dans lequel étoyent douze nymphes "fort richement parées. Dans la salle se présentèrent "plusieurs troupes de Chevaliers Errans" (c'étaient des Seig-

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Protestantes erant, Beatorum sedes frustra ingredi conati, inde in profundum Tartarum relegati essent; nam ita contumeliose Protestantibus illusum esse: idque sinistri aliquid etiam alii portendere ominabantur." *Jac. Ang. Thuani Hist. lib.* 52.

Seigneurs de la Réligion qu'on avait choisis exprès) “ ils
“ étoyent armés de toutes pièces, vêtus de diverses
“ livrées et conduits par leurs Princes” (le Roi de Navarre
et le jeune Condé) “ tous lesquels tâchant de gagner le
“ Paradis, pour aller ensuite querir ces Nymphes au jardin,
“ en étoyent empêchés par les trois Chevaliers qui en
“ avoyent la garde, lesquels l'un après l'autre se présentoyent
“ à la lice et ayant rompu la pique contre les dits
“ assaillans, et donné le coup de coutelas, les renvoyoient
“ vers l'Enfer, où ils étoient trainés par les Diables et
“ Diabloteaux. Cette forme de combat dura jusqu'à ce
“ que les Chevaliers Errans eussent été combattus et
“ trainés un à un dans l'Enfer, lequel fut ensuite clos et
“ fermé. A l'instant descendirent du Ciel, Mercure et
“ Cupidon portés sur un coq. Le Mercure étoit cet Etienne
“ le Roi, chantre tant renommé, lequel étant à terre,
“ se vint présenter aux trois Chevaliers, et après un chant
“ mélodieux, leur fit une harangue, et remonta au Ciel
“ sur son coq, toujours chantant. Alors les trois Chevaliers
“ se levèrent de leurs sièges, traversèrent le Paradis,
“ allèrent aux Champs Elisées querir les douze
“ Nymphes, et les amenèrent au milieu de la salle, où
“ elles se mirent à danser un ballet fort diversifié, et qui
“ dura une grosse heure. Le ballet achevé, les Chevaliers
“ qui étoient dans l'Enfer furent délivrés, et se mirent
“ à combattre en foule et à rompre des piques. Le
“ combat fini, on mit le feu à des trainées de poudre, qui
“ étoient autour d'une fontaine dressée presqu'au milieu
de

"de la salle, d'où s'éleva un bruit et une fumée qui fit re-"tirer chacun. Tel fut le divertissement de ce jour, d'où "l'on peut conjecturer quelles étoyent, parmi telles fein-"tes, les pensées du Roi et du Conseil secret."

Catherine de' Medici was the soul of this secret council.

"Dux fœmina facti."

The historian of the streets of Paris bursts out into a noble indignation on the subject.—"Must we not shiver," he asks, "with horror at the recollection of a woman who "could imagine and prepare such a festival only four "days previous to the massacre of a great part of the in-"habitants of a nation over which she reigned; who "smiled over the unsuspecting victims—laughed at the "carnage—danced on the borders of a river of blood—"and listened to the sounds of music amidst the dying "groans of a hundred thousand miserable wretches who "were murdered by her orders?"

Irresolution of the King strengthened by the arts of Catherine de' Medici.

The dreadful tragedy was intended to begin an hour before the break of day, when the palace clock struck.—Catherine believed about midnight, as the hour of everlasting infamy approached, that her son felt some irresolution or remorse, and apprehensive he might recal the fatal order, she exerted herself to strengthen and invigorate his wavering and agitated mind.—An infernal being, in the figure and attitude of this cruel woman, starts up almost before the astonished eye, when we read of her holding her son's hand, and addressing him in the following language:—"Monsieur mon fils, dans ce moment la "pitié serait absurde, et la clémence imbécille. Les ex-"trêmes sont fâcheux; mais ce sont des moyens sages "quand ils sont nécessaires. Ce qu'ils ont de beau, c'est "qu'ils sont décisifs quand ils sont bons. Venez, je veux "vous faire renifler l'odeur des cadavres, et vous faire "convenir qu'un ennemi mort sent bon. Ah la laide gri-"mace que va faire votre père Coligny! Les hommes "multiplient comme les rats dans une grange; une autre "nuit de Paris ou de France réparera tout cela. Ne ba-"lancez donc plus, chargez votre carabine, et finissez "votre rôlet."

The unfortunate son of such a parent listened but too fatally to her execrable councils, and he became the unparalleled executioner of his own subjects!—A little dissimulation was at first supposed to be convenient, but the Court soon afterwards audaciously avowed the whole transaction.—Great is the public misfortune when the FIRST MAGISTRATE OF THE PEOPLE has lost his integrity and virtue; it is still greater when to the loss of integrity and virtue may be added that of Shame!

The Abbé du Bos has said in the History of the French Monarchy, where he speaks of the murther of the sons of Clodomir, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, rather than have found the latter on record he would have been contented to have given up ten victories.—He might have added he would rather have given up ten thousand. —It stands indeed alone—without an equal—a monument of everlasting infamy and awe!—Its horrors are singular—of a species without example—they set every comparison at defiance—and are not to be paralleled in the annals of mankind!

Some writers have hazarded a paradox, and observed that as dreadful as this fatal night was to the French of the sixteenth century, its effects have been beneficial to the succeeding times and mankind in general, as no other event so effectually opened the eyes of Sovereigns, and more efficaciously exposed to them Machiavel's destructive policy.—Yet this dreadful political experiment, instead of bringing with it a remedy for the wounds of the State, irritated and inflamed them.—Violent convulsions and deliriums followed the barbarous amputation. —A fresh and furious war immediately broke forth—despair gave the surviving Huguenots, who had escaped the general carnage, courage and resolution, and they preferred dying in the field of glory, in defence of their lives and families, to being butchered in cold blood by their unfeeling enemies.

Catherine de' Medici, calm and collected amidst these horrid events, was not inattentive to the interests of her favourite son the Duke of Anjou, and had procured for him by her intrigues the Crown of Poland.—As much however as she exerted herself in his favour her regret increased as he prepared to set out to take possession of his new kingdom. She conducted him as far as Lorraine, and Heaven only knows whether she did not flatter herself in secret that his absence would not be of long duration.

On her return into France she began to fear the Duke of Alençon, who had not the same profound respect for her, would ask for the place of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, an appointment which Henry had filled, and which with the assistance of the Huguenots might give him an opportunity of exciting fresh troubles, and depriving her of the whole authority.—She did not fail to insinuate her suspicions into the King's mind for the purpose of obtaining the employment for Charles of Lorraine her son-in-law, on the full persuasion her power would then be absolute.—The Duke of Alençon on his part was disposed to join the Huguenots; but a little before the departure of the King of Poland, Charles the IXth fell dangerously ill, and his recovery was despaired of about this period.—By the direction of Catherine de' Medici he wrote circular letters, in which he declared that his indisposition would no longer suffer him to attend to the public affairs, and that he had intrusted the Government to his Mother, who was every way worthy of his confidence. Yet this circumstance, related unanimously by all the historians, does not agree with the account of a very well-informed writer, who had an opportunity of being fully acquainted with every thing that passed—Cayet, the sub-preceptor of Henry the IVth, and author of the "Chro- "nologies Novenaire et Septenaire," a scarce historical collection, full of many curious and important anecdotes not generally known.—"Le Roi se sentant près de sa "fin, après avoir été longtems sans sonner mot, dit en se "tournant, et comme s'il fe fût reveillé, apellez mon "frère: la Reine mere était présente, qui envoya soudain "querir Monseigneur le Duc d'Alençon. Le Roi le voy- "ant, se retourna de l'autre côté, et dit derechef; Qu'on "fasse venir mon frère: la Reine sa mere lui dit, Mon- "sieur, je ne sçai pas qui vous demandez, voilà votre "frère: le Roi se fâcha et dit; Qu'on aille querir mon "frère le Roi de Navarre, c'est celui-là qui est mon frère. "—— Le Roi de Navarre tout ému, pleurant et soupi- "rant, alla de genoux jusqu'aux pieds du lit; le Roi "Charles l'ayant fait aprocher, l'embrassa étroitement et "le baisa, lui disant ces paroles: Mon frere, vous perdez "un bon maitre et un bon ami. Je sçai que vous n'êtes "point du trouble qui m'est survenu: si j'eusse voulu "croire ce qu'on m'en vouloit dire, vous ne fussiez plus "en vie; mais je vous ai toujours aimé: je me fie en "vous seul de ma femme et de ma fille, je vous les re- "commande. Ne vous fiez en N." (il est indubitable que cela doit s'entendre de la Reine mere) "mais Dieu vous "gardera. La Reine Mere interrompit le Roi Charles, "disant: Monsieur, ne dites pas cela. —— Madame je "le dois dire, et est la vérité. Croyez moi, mon frere, "aimez moi, assistez à ma femme et à ma fille, et priez "Dieu pour moi. Adieu, mon frere, adieu."

Death of Charles the IXth.

Charles the IXth died, and Catherine had the title as well as the authority of Regent, which the new King Henry confirmed.—This Prince, on his arrival in France, gave a bad specimen of what his future reign was likely to produce. If he had really seen his own political interest he would have endeavoured to have kept the balance even between the two contending parties, that he might not be reduced to the necessity of being dependent on the successful one.—From such measures he would have had some hopes of putting an end to the civil wars, but he had not sufficient understanding to perceive his interest and take these wise precautions.—The league was formed in 1576, the imprudent Henry put himself at the head, and Catherine added to it her weight and influence.

Formation of the league.

Turning our eyes towards Portugal, Sebastian had perished by his own rashness in Africa, and his uncle the Cardinal Henry succeeded to the crown.—Bowed down with age, and enfeebled by infirmities, the new Monarch had no prospect of a long enjoyment of his throne, to which Philip the IId of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, Ranucio the son of Alessandro Farnese; the Dutchess of Bragantia, and the Prior de Crato the natural son of Don Louis, were preparing to support their pretensions.—Catherine de' Medici added her name to the list of candidates, and to establish her right she referred to an old alliance between the antient royal family of Portugal and the House of Bologne.—Whilst her pretensions were not even plausible, they were scandalously insulting to the Cardinal on the throne, who was to be considered as well as his ancestors illegitimate, and without any legal title to the kingdom.—The States were assembled to deliberate on the settlement of the Succession, and though Catherine was not summoned, her ambassador had instructions to appear and support her claims.—Her chimerical title was refuted without difficulty, and rejected with contempt.—The Cardinal on the throne dying, the Portuguese in a tumultuous election made choice of the Prior de Crato, but Philip the Ist marched an army under the command of the Duke of Alba into the kingdom, and conquered it with great ease.—Don Antonio, the Prior de Crato, took refuge in France, where the Queen Mother received him more graciously than might have been expected.—She appeared even to renounce her own pretensions in favour of Antonio, and as the islands of the Azores had declared in his favour, she equipped at her own expence an auxiliary fleet, which Philip opposed with another naval armament. The hostile squadrons met near the

Azores, and the French were defeated within sight of the friends they came to succour.

Catherine de' Medici loses her political influence.

Catherine de' Medici, when her favourite son Henry the IIId took possession of the Crown of France, flattered herself she had reached the summit of her wishes, and had no doubt she should continue for the remainder of her life, what she had always been, the mistress of the kingdom; but she had the mortification to find herself baffled and disappointed.—Henry indeed never disgraced his mother, and she had always some little ascendancy over him, but that was not sufficient for Catherine de' Medici, who was not satisfied with a divided authority, and could not suffer or submit to a rival or an equal.—Henry's minions, Joyeuse and Epernon, insinuated themselves imperceptibly into his favour, and got by little and little the possession of the rudder which Catherine had been so jealous of retaining entirely in her own hands.—Enraged at this unexpected loss of her influence, she made a number of convulsive efforts to recover it, which were attended with the most fatal consequences, and plunged the kingdom into consummate distress and temporary ruin.

The new generation of the Guises pushed their ambitious views farther than their ancestors, and the pretended descendants of the Carlovingians had the insolence to aspire at ravishing the Crown from the real descendants of the Capets.—Strange and extraordinary as it may seem, the mother of the last of the Valois, having lost her road in the mysterious and intricate maze of politics, concurred in the design, and lent them her assistance.—She wished to encourage indolent supineness in her son, and to tighten the bandage on his eyes to prevent his having any light.—She endeavoured to pacify his just resentment, interpreted favourably the obnoxious designs of the persons he suspected, and intercepted the intelligence meant to be conveyed to him by his faithful subjects, or the partisans of the league, who wished to measure back their steps and quit it.

Her flagitious conduct.

Of this strange conduct what could be the motives?—Perhaps Catherine imagined when once the two parties were seriously embroiled, both would be obliged to have recourse to her, and to fly to her for her mediation.—Perhaps also having lately lost her son the Duke of Alençon, despairing of a family from Henry the IIId, and hating with implacable malignity the young King of Navarre, who had no children, and lived in a state of divorce with her daughter Margaret, she formed the design of breaking through the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and altering the succession.—If her son died without children she might wish to place on the throne the eldest son of her youngest daughter, who was married to the Duke of Lorraine.—As the Guises were of that family she deluded herself with a sophism unworthy of her understanding,

standing, and believed with a childish simplicity she might safely make use of these dangerous instruments for such a criminal end.—The two brothers were not, however, characters to be left with impunity at their liberty, or those docile and subaltern spirits to whom she might say, "You have my permission to go to this point—I forbid "you to go beyond it."—After the memorable event of the Barricades Catherine de' Medici continued a few days at Paris, to preserve for her son at least the appearance of authority over his rebellious city.—The substance of it was already ravished from him—the shadow was only left.—It seems this last outrage of the Guises had opened her eyes, and she perceived most sensibly and fatally, when it was too late, the rashness of her conduct.—Things had been carried much farther than she intended, and she found with extreme sorrow that the flame which she had imprudently kindled could only be extinguished by the ruin of what had been always dearest to her.—The faction retained its power—it did not trouble itself with any appeal to her—it did not accept her offer of mediation—and if the exclusion of the young King of Navarre became every day more probable, it was not her grandson of Lorraine but the Guises who were to reap the fruits of it.

Assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother.

Without consulting, or giving the Queen Mother the slightest intimation of his design, the King, who had merely the name, took the violent resolution of putting the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother to death. —As soon however as the tragedy was over, he hastened to inform his mother of what had passed.—Catherine was more alarmed than irritated, and dissembling her apprehensions she asked the King "if he had foreseen the possible consequences of the measure he had taken, and "was prepared to meet them?"—On his answer that "he "had provided for every accident," she replied, "Tant "mieux, je prie Dieu que vous vous trouviez bien de ce "qui vient d'arriver."—But the crafty female saw in prophetic vision Mayenne, the Spaniard, the fulminating rage of Sixtus, and the knife of Clement!

Death of Catherine de' Medici.

A disorder to which she had been long subject, joined to chagrin and disappointment, conducted her to the tomb on the 5th of January 1589.—She had reached the age of seventy-one years, and, the people of Paris excepted, who believed her to have been an accomplice in the assassination of the two Princes of Lorraine, and protested with horrible imprecations they would drag her body to the common dunghil, or throw it into the Seine, if it was brought to Paris with an intention of burying it at St. Denis, not a single person seemed to be affected with her death, or expressed any extraordinary emotions of joy or of regret.—Many interesting events indeed soon followed, which engaged the attention of both her friends and enemies, and they lost every recollection or remembrance of her.—Such were the fates of the Empress Queen

Judith, Isabella of Bavaria, and of one of the Dutchesses of Angoulême, whose intrigues and crimes were the causes of such numerous misfortunes.

It may be perhaps asked if Henry the IIId sincerely regretted her?—His orders to take down the furniture in the Castle of Blois, where he then resided, and to paint the walls black, mixed with tears, are not conclusive arguments for his feelings. It proves alone that he had a taste for the luxury of mourning, and that his imagination was pleased with gloomy ideas.

Her character.

If the maxim of the Stoics is to be adopted, that the wicked are miserable reasoners, and wretched logicians, and that vice and iniquity are only an excess of folly, we must suppose Catherine de Medici's understanding to have been very limited, or rather that she was an idiot more deserving of pity and compassion (*a*).—This paradox however of the Porch, correct in one sense, differs too much from every common and received idea to be universally admitted, and this wicked woman must be acknowledged to have been mistress of a vast genius and a wonderful capacity.—If the goodness of her heart had equalled her intellectual talents, we should have seen her bust

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(*a*) " Non est quod existimes verum esse, quod apud disertissimum virum Livium dicitur, vir ingenii magni magis quam boni. Non potest illud separari : aut et bonum erit aut nec magnum."

bust along with Elizabeth's in the Temple of Fame, and she would have been the glory of that sex which she disgraced.

During the thirty years she governed France, like the treacherous female of Archilochus, who held a pitcher of water in one hand and a fire-brand in the other: she created public dissensions, and appeased them as often as she pleased. Her remedies, however, were sometimes only perfidious palliatives, which in the end increased the fever, and aggravated the inflammation. Her ambition was of the most flagitious species—peaceable authority was beneath her notice—she had tranquillity in horror—storms and tempests were the first pleasures of her life—and if Providence had given her a world to govern, she would soon have reduced it to a chaos.

There is not probably a contrast more striking than the picture traced by a Florentine poet of the happiness of the French Monarchy under Francis the Ist (*b*), and its

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(*b*) " Fuggasi lunge homai dal seggio antico,
L'Italico villan, trapasse l'Alpi,
Truove il Gallico sen • • • • • • •
E se qui non havrà, come hebbe altrove,
Così tepido il Sol, si chiaro il Cielo, &c. &c.
Vedrâ i colli gentil si dolci et vaghi, &c. &c.
Vedrà il Gallico Mar soave e piano,
Vedrà il Padre Ocean superbo in vista
Calcar le rive, &c. &c. . . . .
Ma quel ch'assai più val ; quì non vedranse

its deplorable state, if not its total subversion, under Catherine's administration.

Notwithstanding Catherine's infernal resolution, attentive eyes have not failed to perceive sometimes a tremulous vibration in her conduct.—It was not uniform.—At some moments she boldly crowded all her sails, and stretched out to a vast distance on the ocean—at others she steered for land with equal and astonishing rapidity.—Her steps like those of the tigress, bathed in blood, were quick and sudden, and she moved with starts and bounds.—Blood she often spilt from passion and revenge, but oftener from the severity of her atrocious system, in which she considered cruelty to be necessary.—Undoubtedly she saw the blood stream from the executioner with unconcern and insensibility, but to suppose she found an amusement in it is to substitute a figure of Rhetoric for truth.—A character of this horrid kind is not indeed ideal, yet, for the honour of humanity it has been very rare, and only one execrable assassin has existed, the diabolical

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I divisi voler', l'ingorde brame
Del cieco dominar, che spoglie altrui
Di virtù, di pietà, d'onore et fede;
Quì ripiena d'amor, di pace vera
Vedrà la gente, e'n charità congiunti
I più ricchi Signor, l'ignobil plebe
Viversi insieme, ritenendo ogniuno,
Senza oltraggio d'altrui le sue fortune."
Luigi Alamanni.

cal Rafiat, who asked his judges with a malignant grin, "if they were not ignorant of the pleasure of seeing the "convulsed eye of a dying person."

Baneful education of her children.

As Catherine's barbarity was founded on principle, and her perverted understanding approved of the ferocity of her heart, she did not forget to transmit, as far as she was able, the same impression to her children.—Nothing, perhaps, discovers more clearly the blackness of her soul than the education which she gave them.—Battles of animals of various kinds, in which they tore each other to pieces were their favourite recreations, and she attended in person with them at the private torture and public execution of criminals.—What the bloody amusement of her savage theatre had given them a taste for, the spectacles at the Gréve completely finished.—These abominable seeds fructified particularly with Charles the IXth. The lessons and examples that had been given him entirely depraved the energetic but equivocal disposition he had received from nature, and his education rendered him nearly as cruel and ferocious as his Mother. —Papire Massòn relates that one of his greatest pleasures was to knock down pigs and asses, and that one of his courtiers, surprising him engaged sword in hand with his own mule, very gravely asked him "what had happened "between his Most Christian Majesty and his mule (*c*)?"

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(*c*) "Carolo irruenti in mulam Lansaci, inter aulicos gratiosi, quod tibi dissidium, inquit, cum mulo meo intercessit, Rex Christianissime?"

It is difficult to conceive how Catherine could ever have desired to confide the education of her son the Duke of Alençon to the famous visionary Postel, which was the case, as he informs us in the dedication of one of his works to this Prince in 1575, an honour he refused from his knowledge of living in a Court. This absurd choice may appear less so to those who recollect that Postel was a very learned person, and that in the 16th century science was attended with so many imposing qualities as to render even the phantasies of the Learned respectable.

The inconstancy and levity of human nature does not admit of a whole life of absolute and continued vice or perfect virtue, and it is not to be believed that Catherine always pressed upon her family the worst instructions.— The letter, which she wrote to Charles the IXth when nearly of age, contains the soundest precepts and wisest regulations for his conduct. To give the whole of it in her own words might be objectionable from its length, but an extract of some passages respecting the young King's future mode of life, his daily occupations, and some observations on the customs of his predecessors may be useful and instructive.

" Monsieur mon fils ——— rien ne vous servira tant " que d'aymer les choses reglées et ordonnées, et telle- " ment policées, que l'on connoisse les désordres qui ont

“ été jusques icy par la minorité du Roi votre frère, qui
“ empêchoit que l'on ne pouvoit faire ce que l'on desiroit.
“ ——— Je voudrois que prissiés une heure certaine de
“ vous lever, et pour contenter votre Noblesse, fayre
“ comme faysoit le feu Roi votre père; car quand il pre-
“ noit sa chemise, entroient tous les Princes, Seigneurs,
“ Capitaines, Chevaliers de l'Ordre &c., il parloit à eux,
“ et le voyoient, qui les contentoit beaucoup. Cela fait,
“ s'en alloit à ses affaires, et tous sortoient hormis ceux
“ qui étoient du Conseil et les quatre Secrétaires. Si fai-
“ siés de même, cela les contenteroit fort, pour estre cho-
“ se accoutumée de tout tems aux Rois vos père et
“ grand-père; et après cela que donnassiés une heure ou
“ deux à ouir les dépesches et affaires, ——— et ne pas-
“ ser les dix heures pour aller à la Messe, comme on
“ avoit accoutumé au Roi vostre père et grand-père, que
“ tous les Princes et Seigneurs vous accompagnassent, et
“ non comme je vous vois aller que n'avés que vos ar-
“ chers: et au sortir de la messe, disnez, s'il est tard, ou
“ sinon, promenez pour votre santé, et ne passez onze
“ heures que ne disniez. Et après disner, pour le moins
“ deux fois la sepmaine, donnez audience, qui est chose
“ qui contente infiniment vos sujets, et après vous retirer
“ ou venir chés moy, afin que l'on connoisse une façon
“ de Cour. ——— Et ayant demeuré demy-heure ou
“ une heure en public, vous retirer ou en vostre estude,
“ ou en privé, où bon vous semblera: et sur les trois
“ heures après-midy vous alliés vous promener à pied ou
“ à

“ à cheval, afin de vous montrer, contenter la Noblesse,
“ et passer vostre tems avec cette jeunesse à quelque exercice
“ honneste. ——— Et après cela souper avec vostre
“ famille, et l'aprés-souper deux fois la sepmaine tenir
“ la salle du bal; car j'ay ouy dire au Roi vostre
“ grand-père, qu'il falloit deux jours de bal pour vivre en
“ repos avec les François, et pour qu'ils aymassent leur
“ Roy. ——— Or pour retourner à la police de la Cour
“ du tems de vostre grand-père, il n'y eut eu homme si
“ hardy d'oser dire dans sa Cour injure à un autre, car
“ s'il eut esté ouy, il eut été mené au Prévost de l'Hostel.
“ Les Capitaines des Gardes se promenoyent ordinairement
“ par les salles et dans la cour. Quand l'après-disnée
“ le Roy étoit retiré en sa chambre, chez la Reine ou
“ chez les Dames, les archers se tenoyent ordinairement
“ aux salles parmy les degrez et dans la cour, pour empêcher
“ que les pages et laquais ne jouassent, et tinssent
“ les berlans, qu'ils tiennent ordinairement dans le Chasteau
“ où vous estes logé, avec blasphêmes et juremens,
“ chose exécrable. ——— Tous les soirs depuis que la
“ nuit venoit, le Grand-Maistre avoit commandé au maistre
“ d'hostel de faire allumer des flambeaux par toutes
“ les salles et passages, et aux quatre coins de la cour, et
“ sur les dégrés des falots. Et jamais la porte du Chasteau
“ n'estoit ouverte que le Roy ne fust éveillé, et n'y
“ entroit ne sortoit personne quel qu'il fust: comme aussi
“ au soir, dès que le Roy estoit couché, on fermoit les
“ portes, et mettoit-on les clefs sous le chevet de son lit.

“ ——— Quand on alloit à la viande, le maistre d'hostel “ y alloit en personne, et le pannetier, et après eux c'es- “ toyent enfans d'honneur et pages, sans valetaille, ne “ autre que l'écuyer de cuisine. Et cela estoit plus hono- “ rable et plus seur aussi. ——— Je vous diray que du “ tems du Roy Louis XII, qu'il avoit une façon, que je “ désirerois infiniment que vous voulussiez prendre, pour “ vous oster toutes importunités et presses de la Cour, “ et pour faire connoistre à tous, qu'il n'y a que vous qui “ donne les biens et honneurs; vous en serez mieux ser- “ vy et avec plus de faveur. C'est qu'il avoit ordinaire- “ ment en sa poche le nom de tous ceux qui avoyent “ charge de luy, fusse prés ou loin, grands ou petits, “ somme de toutes qualités. Comme aussi il avoit un “ autre rôle, où estoient escrits tous les offices, bénéfi- “ ces, et autres choses qu'il pouvoit donner, et avoit fait “ commandement à un ou denx des principaux Officiers “ de chaque Province, que quelque chose qui vasquast “ ou avint de confiscations, aubaines, amendes et autres “ choses pareilles, que nul ne fust averty, que première- “ ment ceux, à qui il en avoyt donné la charge, ne l'en “ avertissent, par lettres expresses, qui ne tombassent ès “ mains des Secrétaires ne autres que luy-mesme: et lors “ il prenoit son rôle, et regardoit selon la valeur qu'il “ voyoit par iceluy, ou qu'on lui demandoit, et selon le “ rôle qu'il en avoit en sa poche, il le donnoit à celui à “ qui bon lui sembloit, et lui en faisoit faire la dépesche “ luymême; et sans qu'il en sçust rien, il l'envoyoit à ce-

"luy à qui il le donnoit. Et si de fortune quelqu'un es-
"tant averty après luy venoit demander, il le refusoit;
"car jamais à ceux qui demandoient il ne donnoit, afin
"de leur oster la façon de l'importuner. Et ceux qui le
"servoient sans laisser leurs charges, sans le venir pres-
"ser à la Cour, et dépendre plus que le don ne vaut bi-
"en souvent, il les récompensoit des services qu'ils lui
"faisoient. Aussi estoit le mieux servy Roy, à ce que
"j'ay ouy dire, qui fust jamais; car ils ne reconnoyssoy-
"ent rien que luy, et ne faisoit-on la cour à personne,
"estant le plus aymé qui fust jamais: et prye à Dieu
"qu'en fassiez de même, car tant qu'en ferez autrement,
"point l'on ne tiendra le don de vous, car j'en ay ouy par-
"ler où je suis. ——— Monsieur mon fils vous tien-
"drez la franchise dequoy je le vous envoye, et le bon
"chemin; et ne trouverez mauvais que je l'aye fait escri-
"re, car c'est afin que le puissiez mieux lire, et comment
"vos prédécesseurs faisoyent."

Liberality, a virtue which Catherine de' Medici inherited from her ancestors, degenerated in her hands.—Prodigal even to insanity, and at the same time without a thought of the justice due to her creditors, she died overwhelmed with debts, and left her affairs in a confusion more inexcusable as no other Queen of France had ever been in the receipt of half her revenue.—Exclusive of her rich dower, she enjoyed a great part of the Medici property, and also the opulent successions of the House

of

of Boulogne, that consisted of immense domains in almost every province of the kingdom.—Foreign or chimerical crowns (*a*), which from her insatiable avarice and pride she was perpetually soliciting for herself and her children, were the great objects of her foolish expences, and these ruinous intrigues were the principal gulph which swallowed up her treasure.

Such is the malignity of man, and such the impossibility of satisfying the world, that Kings and Ministers, the principal characters in the great drama of life, may both reasonably console themselves if they do not always meet with public applause, and despise the hisses or the censures which they do not merit.—There is not however a more dangerous or destructive maxim, in its full extent, than Machiavel's, " that a wise Prince ought to be above " the public opinion."—Catherine de' Medici, faithful to this abominable doctrine, " faisoit acheter," to make use of Brantome's words, " et lisoit les belles invectives qui " se faisoient contre elle, dont elle se moquoit, et se rioit, " sans s'altèrer autrement, apellant les auteurs des bavards " et des donneurs de billevesées; ainsi usoit-elle de ce " mot (*b*)."

Was

(*a*) The Crowns of Portugal, England, and Poland, with the sovereignty of Algiers, and the Low Countries.

(*b*) *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 2. 293.

Charles the IXth's horrors before his death.

Was it indeed possible she could be sensible to any criticisms or severe observations on her conduct, when wholly callous to every conscientious feeling?—Her son Charles the IXth, who had profited so much from the lessons he had learned in her execrable school, died at least in all the horrors of distraction and remorse. "Ah "ma bonne! ah ma mie!" cried the dying Monarch, interrupted with sobs, to his attendant, in agonies at his bedside, "Ah ma mie, que de sang et que de meurtres! "ah que j'ai suivi de méchans conseils! O mon Dieu "pardonne moi, et me fai miséricorde s'il te plait; je ne "sai où j'en suis, tant mes crimes me rendent perplex et "agité: que deviendra tout ceci? Que ferai-je? je suis "perdu, je le vois bien (*c*)."—Such was the miserable end of this unfortunate Prince.

> "Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
> Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater;"

but not a single individual has ever mentioned Catherine de' Medici's penitence.—A few slight apprehensions, some transitory fears might indeed occasionally alarm her, yet they do not amount to repentance or to remorse.—Du Plessis-Mornay relates he had been told by Henry the IVth that he was with Catherine de' Medici at Vespers, which they went through verse by verse, at the very hour when

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(*c*) *Cayet. Chronologie Novenaire.*

when the first Cardinal de Lorraine died, and that Catherine, lifting up her hand, cried out she saw the Cardinal pale and frightful, who pointed to her and threatened her; and that on her screaming out, her ladies of honour came into the room, and the phantom disappeared.

The wicked, and in particular wicked women, are generally timid as well as superstitious.—Catherine, whose soul was ferociously cruel, was still a slave to religious weakness. She believed in astrology, and Mars and Saturn made her tremble.—The comet which appeared towards the end of the year 1577 threw her into consternation, though she endeavoured to conceal her fears (*d*).—As her fright became notorious, and her death was believed to be the most fortunate event that could arrive to France, a poet of the times expressed the general opinion in a Latin Epigram:

> "Spargeret audaces cum tristis in æthere crines,
> Venturique daret signa Cometa mali,
> Ecce suæ Regina timens malè conscia vitæ,
> Credidit invisum poscere fata caput.
> Quid Regina times? namque hic mala siqua minatur,
> Longa timenda tua est, non tibi vita brevis (*e*)."

Catherine

(*d*) *Journal de Henry III.*

(*e*) Yet Giovanni Rondinelli, the Florentine, pronounced a funeral oration in the Church of San Lorenzo, in honour of Catherine de' Medici, where he glorified her as a Saint. "Doverei, immortal Donna, chiederti perdono del mio basso e umilis-

Catherine de' Medici is perhaps excusable for her belief in astrology and the influence of the stars and heavenly bodies, for the error was at least the error of the age.—For her attachment to magic she is indefensible.—All the persons of character in the sixteenth century, without being persuaded of the folly of the science, held its practice in abomination.—Catherine not only plunged deeply into it, but its rites and incantations were some of her favourite amusements, and she suffered herself to be duped by her countryman Cosmo Ruggieri, and other similar impostors.—The French, a fickle and volatile people, like the cameleon adopted any colour that pleased their fancy; and this infamous study became, from Catherine's example, so much the fashion that Séchelles (*f*), a priest, burned at the Gréve for sorcery, accused above a thousand persons of this pretended crime—some writers even augment the number.

Perhaps the traditions which have been so widely spread on the subject of the superstitious follies of Catherine de' Medici may have increased these fabulous stories.—It has been

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simo ragionare, ma so, che fatta beata, poco di queste mie parole cura ti prendi; solo in questa vece ti pregherò, che rivolgendo gli occhi a questa devotissima patria tua, siccome sempre le fosti, le vogli essere ajutatrice, e vogli verso di lei accrescere la tua pietà: perchè se il tuo umilissimo e mortal prego le potette giovare cotanto, mentre in terra dimorasti, ripiena di mille angosce, che ora le potrà fare il divino e altissimo tuo ajuto, che felice all' eterna salute siedi vicina?"

(*f*) Mons^{r}. de Menardaye, another priest, published in 1749 a most ridiculous History of Magic, and endeavoured to prove its existence even in his own times.

been said, though it cannot be positively affirmed, that she wore on her breast part of a child's skin whose throat had been cut, or a piece of vellum with figures and characters in different colours, and that she firmly believed it to be a preservative against any attack upon her person. —The reproach may be also without foundation respecting another Talisman or mysterious medal that she wore, on which a supposed treaty with the Devil was engraved, and which is still existing. The Jesuit Harduin, Ménétrier, and some other writers, have hazarded explications on the subject, in which they have only surpassed each other in absurdity (*g*).—The existence of the medal is beyond dispute, and the most natural construction of it is, that it represents Catherine consulting the magic mirror on the fortune of her children, and the extent of their several reigns.—Whatever may be the opinion, there can be no doubt of Catherine's passion for enchantments, and that one of her greatest pleasures was to hold a conference with the Prince of Darkness.—Almost all the writers on the nocturnal assemblies of his imps, have only given us hearsay evidence, but the famous artist Benvenuto Cellini (*h*) has related to us what he had himself seen, or fancied that he had seen.

As

(*g*) The whole history of this celebrated Medal, with an abstract of the various dissertations and opinions on the subject, may be found in the Dictionaire Historique par Prosper Marchand, tom. 1. 164—173. fol. La Haye, 1758.

(*h*) " In questo tempo, siccome fanno i giovani, m'ero inamorato d'una fanciulla Siciliana, la quale era bellissima. La madre, accortasi di tal cosa, una notte segre-

"As young men can never secure their hearts against "the attacks of love, but sooner or later are subdued by "that

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tamente si partì di Roma colla fanciulla, ed andossene con Dio. Io feci pazzie inestimabili per ritrovar quella. Sarebbono troppo lunghe a dir tal cose per l'appunto; basta solo ch'io stetti in procinto o d'impazzare o di morire. In capo di due mesi, mi accadde per diverse cette stravaganze, che io presi amicizia con un certo Prete Siciliano, il quale era di elevatissimo ingegno, e aveva assai buone lettere latine e greche; venuto una volta in un proposito di un ragionamento, nel quale s'intervenne a parlare dell'arte della Negromanzia; alla qual cosa, grandemente desideroso di saperla, io dissi: grandissima voglia io ho avuto in tutto il tempo della vita mia, dî vedere o sentire qualche cosa di quest' arte. Alle quali parole il Prete aggiunse; di forte animo e sicuro bisogna che sia quell'uomo, che si mette a tale impresa. Io risposi, che della fortezza e della sicurtà dell'animo me ne avanzerebbe, purchè io trovassi modo a far tal cosa. Allora rispose il Prete: se di codesto ti basta la vista, di tutto il resto te ne satollero. Così fummo d'accordo di dar principio a tale impresa. Il detto Prete una fera frà l'altre si messe in ordine, e mi disse, che io trovassi un compagnon, insino a due; io chiamai Vincenzio Romoli mio amicissimo; ed egli menò seco un Pistolese, il quale attendeva anch'egli alla Negromanzia. Andaticene al Culiseo, quivi paratosi il Prete a uso di Negromante, si mise a disegnare i circoli in terra, colle più belle cerimonie che immaginar si possa al mondo, e ci aveva fatto portare zaffetica, profumi preziosi, e fuoco, ancora profumi cattivi. Come fù in ordine, fece la porta al circolo; e presoci per mano, a quel altro suo compagno negromante ordinò, che buttasse i profumi secondo il bisogno nel fuoco, e agli altri dette la cura del fuoco e de' profumi, e poi messe mano a gli scongiuri. Durò questa cosa piu d'un ora e mezzo; comparse parecchi legioni di diavoli, di modo che il Culiseo era tutto pieno. Io che attendeva a profumi preziosi, quando il Prete conobbe esservi tanta quantità, si volse a me, e disse: Benvenuto, dimanda loro qualche cosa. Io dissi, che facessino, ch'io fussi colla mia Angelica Siciliana. Per quella notte noi non avemmo risposta nessuna: ma io ebbe bene grandissima satisfazione dî quello che io desideravo. Di tal cosa disse il Negromante, che bisognava, che noi ci andassino un altra volta: e che io sarei satisfatto di tutto quello che io dim andavo; ma che vi voleva, che io menassi meco un fanciulletto vergine. Presi un mio fattorino, il quale era dî dedici anni in circa, e meco di nuovo chiamoci quel detto Vincenzio Romoli, e per esser nostro domestico compagno un certo Agnolino Gaddi, ancora menai lui a questa faccenda. Arrivati di nuovo al luogo deputato, fatto il Negromante le sue medesime preparazioni, con quel medesimo e più ancora maraviglioso ordine, ce messe nel circolo, qual di nuovo aveva fatto con più

“ that all-conquering power, my affections were captivated “ at that time, by a Sicilian girl of extraordinary beauty, “ and

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mirabil arte, et più mirabili cerimonie; di poi a quel mio Vincenzio diede la cura de profumi e del fuoco, insieme la prese il detto Agnolino Gaddi: dipoi a me pose in mano il pintaculo, il qual mi disse, ch'io lo voltassi secondo i luoghi dove e' mi accennava, e sotto il pintaculo tenevo quel mio fanciullino fattore. Cominciato il Negromante a fare quelle terribilissime invocazioni, chiamato per nome una gran quantità di quei Demoni capi di quelle legioni, e a quegli domandava, per la virtù e potenza di Dio increato, vivente, e eterno, in voci Ebree, parte ancora assai Greche e Latine; in modo che in breve spazio si riempiè tutto il Culiseo, l'un cento più di quello che avevano fatto la prima volta. Vincenzio Romoli attendeva a far fuoco, insieme con quel Agnolino detto, e molta quantità di profumi preziosi. Io per consiglio del Negromante, di nuovo dimandai di poter essere con Angelica. Voltosi a me il Negromante, disse: senti ch'egli hanno detto che in ispazio d'un mese tu sarai dove lei; e di nuovo mi aggiunse, che mi pregava, ch'io gli tenessi il fermo, perchè le legioni erano più l'un mille di quello, ch'egli aveva domandato, e ch'ell'erano le più pericolose: è poi ch'egli avevano stabilito quello che io gli aveva domandato, bisognava accarezzargli, e pazientemente licenziargli. Dall'altra banda il fanciullo, che era sotto il pintaculo, ispaventatissimo diceva, che in quel luogo vi era un milione d'uomini bravissimi, i quali tutti ci minacciavano: di più disse, ch'egli era apparso quattro smisurati giganti, i quali erano armati, e facevano segno di voler entrare da noi. In questo che il Negromante, che tremava di paura, attendeva con dolce soave modo, il meglio che poteva, a licenziargli; Vincenzio Romoli, che tremava a verga a verga, attendeva a profumi. Io che aveva tanto paura, quanto e' ne avevano, m'ingegnavo di monstrarlo manco; e a tutti dava maravigliosissimamente animo: ma certo io mi ero fatto morto per la paura che io vedevo nel Negromante. Il fanciullo s'era fitto il capo trà le ginocchia, dicendo: io voglio morire a questo modo, che morti siamo. Di nuovo dissi al fanciullo; queste creature son tutte sotto di noi, e ciò che tu vedi, si è fumo e ombra; siechi alza gli occhi. Alzato ch'egli ebbe gli occhi, di nuovo disse: tutto il Culiseo arde, e il fuoco viene adosso a noi. Di nuovo messosi le mani al viso, disse, chè era morto, e chè non voleva più vedere. Il Negromante mi si raccommandò, pregandomo chè io gli tenessi il fermo, e chè io facessi fare profumi di zaffetica; così voltomi a Vincenzio Romoli, dissi che presto profumasse di zaffetica. Mentre chè io così diceva, guardando Agnolino Gaddi, il quale si era tanto spaventato, chè la luce degli occhi aveva fuora del punto, ed era più che mezzo morto; al quale io dissi: Agnolo, in questi luoghi non bisogna aver paura, ma bisogna darsi da fare, e ajutarsi; sicchè mattete sù presto di quella zaffetica. Il detto Agnolo, in quello che si volse muovere. fece una strombazzata

“ and she seemed to repay my passion with an equal
“ ardour. Her mother perceived it, and was apprehen-
“ sive

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di corregge, con tanta abondanza di merda, laquale potette molto più che la zaffetica: il fanciullo a quel romore e a quel gtan puzzo alzato un poco il viso, sentendomi ridere alquanto; assicurato un poco la paura, disse, che sene cominciavano andare a furia. Così soprastemmo infinattanto, che cominciò a sonare i mattutini. Di nuovo ci disse il fanciullo, che ce n'era restati pochi, e discosto. Fatto che ebbe il Negromante tutto il resto delle sue cerimonie, spogliatosi, e riposto un gran fardello de libri ch'egli aveva portati; tutti d'accordo seco uscimmo dal circolo, ficcandoci l'uno sotto l'altro, massimo il fanciullo, che si era messo in mezzo, ed aveva preso il Negromante per la vesta, e me per la cappa; e continuamente, inmentre chè noi andavamo inverso le case nostre, e' ci diceva, chè dua di quegli, che egli aveva visto nel Culiseo, ci andavano saltabeccando innanzi, or correndo sù per li tetti, e ora per terra. Il Negromante diceva chè di tante volte, quanto egli era entrato ne' circoli, non mai gli era intervenuto una così gran cosa, e mi persuadeva, ch'io fussi contento di voler esser seco a consacrare un libro, dal quale noi terremmo infinita richezza; perchè noi domanderemmo a' Demoni che c'insegnassino de' tesori, de quali n'è piena la terra, e a quel modo noi diventeremmo ricchissimi: e che queste cose di amore si erano vanità e pazzie, le quali non rilevano nulla. Io gli dissi, che molto volontieri farei una tal cosa, se io avessi le lettere latine: pur egli mi persuadeva, dicendomi, che le lettere latine mi servivano a nulla; e che se egli avesse voluto, trovava di molti con buone lettere latine ma che non aveva mai trovato nessuno di un saldo animo, come ero io.” *Vita di Benv. Cellini.*

If this curious text wants a commentary, one may be found in the curious Dialogue of the Baron de Fœneste with the St. D'Enay.

“ Or ye bous en ai trop dit pour bous pouboir rien cèler: sachez que celle que ye boulois espouser, me mit à telle rage, que je boulus parler au diavle: un Italien m'en proumit l'expériment, pourbu que ye n'ensse poent de pur: pur, dis-ye, si lou pont levedis l'enfer estoit vessé, ou si y'entreprenois de le pétarder, ye bous irai abec un nerf de vuf faire trouter la quenaille d'enfer à mon service: il fallut donc benir à la preube: la porte Sant Marceault estoit ouberte toute nuict, pourceque c'estoit l'année de la peste; nous sourtismes donc pour benir dans une petite plenne qui est à bat de Bissextre, où nous arribons sur les onze hures; mon home me redemande, si y'abois poent pur? Ventre de Sant Christoli. di-ye, ce sont les diavles qui ch... de pur de me boir, et te font demander cela: ô vien, il se sépare de moi, et se ba pourmener près d'une hure, et puis me bint prendre par la main pour me mener dans un

“sive of the consequences. I had indeed formed a design to run away with the girl to Florence, and to stay there a year with her unknown to her mother. The latter being apprized of my intention quitted Rome one night with her daughter, and having taken the road to Naples, gave out that she was going to Civita Vecchia, but went to Ostia. I followed them to Civita Vecchia, and committed innumerable extravagancies in search of my mistress. It would be tedious to give a circumstantial account of all these follies; let it suffice to say, that I was upon the point of losing my senses or dying of grief. After two months the girl wrote me word,

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cercle: il aboit un coudre blanc en men abec un petit fusil, il allume de l'encens, et puch ayant dit, Adeste Spiritus, et quauques moutets, il me fait tourner bers l'Ourient: n'ayant rien fait de ce costé, il me tourne au midi, où il commença par, Et ecce ego totus vester: et n'ayant encore rien fait de ce costé, il me dit, ce sont les Septentrionnaux à qui ceci appartient: nous faisons demi-tour, et comme il commençoit Agla Varcan, ye boi come sourtir de terre un home aussi grand que nous dus l'un sur l'autre, boussu debant et derrière; de bous dire son bisage, pou cap Sant Mamoulin, il me prend si grande frayur, regardez comme mes chebux en dressent encores; ye me mets à hutte plus bîste que lou bent, ye tumvai dans des espines et devout: courant donc sans regarder ye me précipite dans une caberne sur quauque chause qui n'estet poent trop dur, si vien que ye ne me rompis rien: à un demi-cler de lune ye m'abise que y'estois dans lou charnier des pestiferez; lors ye fis un vrabe trait pour sourtir, c'est que ye fis eschelle de dix ou douze corps, et gagne lou lougis sans me banter de rien, horsmis au Curé à qui ye fis dire une messe de St. Roch; il me bouloit faire seigner de pur de la peste; mais l'autre pur douminait. E vien ordonnas à qui dessus? (Avez vous quelque chose â dire à cela?)

L'autre interlocuteur répond, “ je dis qu'il y avait quelque fosse ou petite muraille à demi ruinée, derrière laquelle étoit couché votre Démon, et qui eut loisir de prendre ses échasses, cependant que l'enchanteur vous tenait la veue devers le midi.

“Ah, dit Fœneste, il aboit des yamves vien gresles, bous me faytes penser, ye boudrois tenir mes douze pistoles que y'abois consinêes auparabant.”

“ word, that she was in Sicily, extremely dejected and unhappy. At that time I indulged myself in pleasures of all sorts, and had engaged in another amour to cancel the memory of my Sicilian mistress. It came to pass, that through a variety of odd accidents, I made acquaintance with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of genius, and well versed in the Latin and Greek Authors. Happening one day to have some conversation with him, when the subject turned upon the art of necromancy, I, who had a great desire to know something of the matter, told him, that I had all my life a curiosity to be acquainted with the mysteries of this art. The priest made answer, that the man must be of a resolute and steady temper who enters upon that study. I replied, that I had fortitude and resolution enough to desire to be initiated in it. The priest subjoined, if you think you have the heart to venture, I will give you all the satisfaction you can desire. Thus we agreed to enter upon a plan of necromancy. The priest one evening began to prepare to satisfy me, and bid me look out for a companion or two: I invited one Vincenzio Romoli, who was my intimate acquaintance; he brought with him a native of Pistoia, that cultivated necromancy himself. We repaired to the Colosseo, and the priest, according to the custom of conjurers, began to draw circles upon the ground with the most awful ceremonies imaginable; he likewise brought thither all sorts of precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions "also which diffused noisome and bad odours. As soon "as he was in readiness, he made an opening to the circle, and having taken us by the hand, ordered the other "necromancer his partner, to throw the perfumes into "the fire at a proper time, intrusting the care of the fire "and the perfumes to the rest; and then he began his "incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and "a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, "insomuch that the amphitheatre was quite filled with "them. I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, "who knew there was a sufficient number of infernal spirits, turned about to me, and said, Benvenuto, ask them "some favour. I answered, let them bring me into the "company of my Sicilian mistress Angelica. That night "we obtained no answer of any sort; but I had received "great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. "The conjurer told me, it was requisite we should go a "second time, assuring me, that I should be satisfied in "whatever I asked, but that I should bring with me a "youth that had never known woman. I took with me "my apprentice, who was about twelve years of age, together with the same Vincenzio Romoli, who had been "my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, "an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on "to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place "appointed, the priest having made his preparations as "before, with the same and even with more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had

" likewise drawn with a more wonderful art, and in a " more solemn manner than at our former meeting. " Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and " the fire to my friend Vincenzio, who was assisted by " Agnolino Gaddi, he put into my hand a pentagonum, " and bid me turn it towards the places that he should direct me; and under the pentagonum I held my apprentice. The necromancer having begun to make his tremendous invocations, called by their names a multitude " of Demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, " and questioned them by the virtue and power of the " eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, in the Hebrew language as likewise in Latin and Greek; insomuch, that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant " filled with demons a hundred times more numerous " than at the former conjuration. Vincenzio Romoli was " busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, " and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, " by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to " be in the company of my Angelica. The former thereupon turning to me said; You are to know, they have " declared that in the space of a month you shall be in " her company: he then requested me to stand resolutely " by him, because the legions were now above a thousand " more in number than he had designed; and besides, " these were the most dangerous, so that after they had " answered my question, it behoved him to be civil to " them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time,

“ the boy under the pentagonum, was in a terrible fright, “ saying, that there were in that place a million of stout “ men, who threatened to destroy us; that moreover four “ giants appeared of an enormous stature, who were “ armed cap-a-pee, and endeavoured to break into our “ circle. During this time, whilst the necromancer, “ trembling with fear, endeavoured, by mild and gentle “ methods, to dismiss them the best he could; Vincenzio “ Romoli, who quivered like an aspen-leaf, took care of “ his perfumes. Though I was as much afraid as any of “ them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt; so “ that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with resolution; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead “ man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. “ The boy had placed his head between his knees, and “ said, in this attitude will I die; we shall all surely perish. I told him, that all those demons were under us, “ and what he saw was smoke and shadow; so bid him “ hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he “ look up, but he cried out, The whole amphitheatre is “ burning, and the fire is just falling upon us; so covering his eyes with his hands, he again exclaimed, that “ destruction was inevitable, and he desired to see no “ more. The necromancer intreated me to have a good “ heart, and take care to burn proper perfumes; upon “ which I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the “ most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I “ cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified

" to such a degree, that he could scarce distinguish ob-
" jects, and seemed to be half dead. Seeing him in this
" condition, I said, Agnolo, upon these occasions a man
" should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give
" his assistance; so come directly, and put on some more
" of these perfumes. -
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" - - - - - - - - - - - . In this condition we staid till the
" bell rang for morning prayer. The boy again told us,
" that there remained but few devils, and these were at a
" great distance. When the conjuror had performed the
" rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and
" took up a wallet full of books which he had brought
" with him. We all went out of the circle together,
" sticking as close to one another as we possibly could;
" especially the boy, who had placed himself in the middle,
" holding the necromancer by the coat, and me by
" the cloak. As we were going to our houses in the
" quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the demons
" whom we had seen at the amphitheatre, went on
" before us leaping and skipping, sometimes running upon
" the roofs of the houses, and sometimes upon the ground.
" The priest declared, that as often as he had entered

"magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain persuade me to assist with him at consecrating a book, "from which he said we should derive immense riches; "we should then ask the demons to discover to us the "various treasures with which the earth abounds, which "would raise us to opulence and power; but that those "love affairs were mere follies, from whence no good "could be expected. I made answer, That I would readily accept his proposal if I understood Latin; he redoubled his persuasions, assuring me, that the knowledge of the Latin language was by no means material: "he added, that he could have found Latin scholars "enough, if he had thought it worth while to look out "for them, but that he could never have met with a partner of a resolution and intrepidity equal to mine, and "that I should by all means follow his advice *(a)*."

Some writers have applied the observation of Tacitus on the Mother of Caligula to Catherine de' Medici. "Virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat," and remarked her masculine pursuits had eradicated the weaknesses of her sex.—The President De Thou is of this opinion, but other writers have thought very differently, and believed

"Quoique SCYTHE et BARBARE elle a pourtant AIME."

She

(a) Nugent's Translation of the Life of Benv. Cellini, vol. 1. 252—259.

She never pardoned the Constable Montmorenci for having once indiscreetly observed to the King "that of "all his children only his natural daughter resembled "him."—She demolished indeed the Palace de Tournelles, where Henry the IId had received his fatal wound; she wore mourning the rest of her life; she erected a splendid mausoleum to his memory; fifteen years after his death she assassinated or, which is the same thing, executed unjustly the innocent Montgomeri, by whose lance Henry had unfortunately fallen; and she took for her device burning coals with the words "Ardorem ex-"tinctâ testantur vivere flammâ."—Yet these external demonstrations of grief were too pompous perhaps to be sincere; and if her griefs were real, or she felt the affliction she pretended, she has been strongly suspected of receiving consolation within the arms of some later favourites.

Troïlus de Mesgouez a gentleman of Brittany, and Lignerolles, on whom Charles the IXth bestowed several strokes of his poignard, were both spoken of as her galants, but her intrigues have certainly been exaggerated.—A libel of the day mentions that the Chevalier de Bataresse had the audacity to exhibit a sarcastic picture of Catherine with no less than FOURTEEN of her SECRET FRIENDS, whose likenesses were extremely well preserved, and that Jacques Davy afterwards Cardinal du Perron was the principal figure of the piece.—Catherine's

adventure,

adventure, however, with Francis de Vendôme, Vidam of Chartres, was the most notorious. The winding up of the amour was perfectly in her style, her passion was stained with the native blackness of her mind and ended very tragically.—In a fit of satiated love or jealous resentment she sent her hapless paramour to the Bastille, and he died soon afterwards with every appearance of being poisoned.—In a similar moment of amorous resentment Tisiphone's galant the shepherd Cythéron was strangled according to the fable, by a serpent rising out of that Fury's head.

Catherine de' Medici's heart was not formed for friendship more than love. When she flattered a person with any ostensible mark of regard, it was an indication that she considered him as a fool, or had laid some plan to ruin him. Whilst her Court was the most brilliant it was the most corrupted that had been ever known. Scandal was gentility, vice was duty, perfidy politeness, and assassination pleasantry.—Such debauchery had never before reigned so publicly, the six mortal sins marched in open triumph, and the Porters of the Louvre shut their doors both against hypocrisy and virtue.—Yet old Brantome exults in the recollection of his juvenile days, and gives a magnificent elogium of this Court.—

" Pour fin sa compagnie et sa cour estoyt un vrai Para-
" dis de ce monde, et l'école de toute honnêteté et vertu,

" et l'ornement de France; bref telle que quand elle a " été morte, on a dit par vive voix de tous, que la cour " n'estoyt plus la cour, et que jamais plus il n'y auroit en " France une Reine-Mère. J'ai ouy conter, que notre " Roy d'aujourd'huy quelque dix-huit mois après qu'il " se vit un peu avant dans la fortune, et espérance d'es- " tre un peu Roy assez universel, se mit à discourir avec " feu Mr. le Maréchal de Biron, des desseins et progrès " qu'il faisoyt pour un jour faire sa cour plantureuse, bel- " le, et du tout ressemblable à celle que nostre dict Rei- " ne entretenoit; Mr. le Maréchal lui répondit; il n'est " pas en votre puissance, ni de Roi qui viendra jamais, " si ce n'est que vous fissiez tant avec Dieu, qu'il vous fist " ressusciter la Reine Mère, pour la ramener telle. Mais " ce n'estoit pas là le compte de nostre bon Roy. Que " malheureux fust le jour que cette Reine mourut, &c. " &c (*b*)."

It is not astonishing to find such a slave of voluptuousness as Brantome regretting the loss of the delights of this corrupted Court, and the licentious entertainments that Catherine gave, where her women of honour with their floating hair wreathed with flowers waited at her tables and danced half naked.—Their most beautiful daughters and female friends were intrusted by the first nobility of the kingdom to her care, and they were without scru-

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(*b*) *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 2. 297—311.

ple or decency sacrificed to her ambitious views.—By these nefarious means she kept the feeble Antony King of Navarre in perpetual bondage, and sometimes restrained the nobler energy of the Prince de Condé.—The adventure of Mademoiselle de Limeuil was notorious, and became the subject of a Latin poem in the Journal of the day (*c*).—Mademoiselle de Rieux, another Maid of Honour to Catherine and the favourite of the Duke d'Anjou, and beautiful as the Loves, was also a character of distinguished

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(*c*) "Puella illa nobilis
Quæ erat tam amabilis.
Commisit adulterium
Et nuper fecit filium,
Sed dicunt Matrem Reginam,
Illi fuisse Lucinam,
Et quod hoc pateretur
Ut Principem lucraretur.
Contra hanc tamen Regina
Se satendit tantum plena
Cholerâ, ac si nescisset
Hoc quod puella fecisset,
Mittens in Monasterium
Quærere refrigerium;
Sed certè pro tam levi re
Sic non debebat tractare.
Aliis non fit taliter
Quæ faciunt similiter," &c.

Brantome says the Prince of Condé's libertinism occasioned the following sonnet:

"Ce petit homme tant joly,
Toujours cause, et toujours rit
Et toujours baise sa mignonne
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme."

Œuvres de Brantome, *tom.* 6. 332.

tinguished notoriety (*d*). " C'est elle," says Brantome, " qui tua virilement de sa propre main Antinotti Floren" tin, qu'elle avait épousé par amourettes, et qu'elle sur" prit couché avec une autre."

It was likewise in his conferences with Catherine de' Medici that the galant Béarnois the young King of Navarre was successively captivated by Mademoiselles d'Agelle and de Tosseuse.—In another interview Catherine was less fortunate, or had not so well spread her snares.—Asking the Prince, if he had a wish for any thing, or what he liked, he looked round the circle of her females that she had brought for his seduction, and coldly replied, there was nothing to his taste—" Il n'y a " rien là que je veuille, Madame."—Péréfixe has preserved

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(*d*) " Renée de Rieux, commonly called Mademoiselle de Chateauneuf, was a beauty of the most engaging kind. She was of the ancient family of Rieux in Bretagne, and had been early taken into the Household, and placed near the person of Catherine of Medicis, as a Maid of Honour to that Queen. She possessed an elegance of form and manner peculiar to herself, and long after her retreat from Court, it was thought a very high compliment to a young person to say " Qu'elle avoit de l'air de Mademoiselle Chateauneuf."—Desportes, the Tibullus of the sixteenth century, celebrates her charms in many of his sonnets addressed to her under the name of the Duke of Anjou. After Henry the IIId's return from Poland, he designed to have married her to the Count de Brienne, but that nobleman quitted France to avoid the marriage. She became soon after the wife of a Florentine named Altoviti, whom she killed with her own hand, but it does not appear that she was punished or even prosecuted for this crime. Her second husband was Philip Altoviti Baron de Castelune, who was put to death in 1586, by Henry d' Angoulesme, natural son to Henry the IId. His widow died in great obscurity some years afterwards." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol.* 2. 207, 208.

ed this anecdote in his history of this great Monarch, and adds, that on the Queen's pressing him to make some amorous overture, "Madame," he said, "il n'y a point "ici d' ouverture pour moi," and broke up the conversation.

There was not indeed any means so base or criminal that this Princess did not employ, provided they led to the accomplishment of her wishes, or tended to the end she had in view.—Charles the IXth told the Count de Clinchamp that there was not a person of ten thousand livres a year within the Kingdom with whom she had not a spy.—Perhaps, her victims by poison have been multiplied.—It may be yet a question if the eldest of her brothers-in-law, the second of her sons, the Queen Mother of Navarre, and the Marshal de Bellegarde fell by her perfidious machinations; but it is impossible to doubt that she often called to her assistance this abominable art of the "Pharmacy of Traitors."—Master René the Milanese and Perfumer to the Court was one of the first of men for conveying the most subtle and mortal preparation into the essence of a rose, or a jelly; and as notorious as the ancient matron Locusta (*e*), the accomplished female

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(*e*) "Agrippina, sceleris olim certa, et oblatæ occasionis propera, nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit: ne repentino et præcipiti facinus proderetur. Exquisitum aliquid placebat, quod turbaret mentem, et mortem diferret. Deligitur ARTIFEX TALIUM Vocabulo Locusta, nuper veneficii damnata et diu INTER INSTRUMENTA REGNI HABITA." (*Tacit. Ann. lib.* 12. 66.)—Suetonius mentions this respectable Matron (*Nero. c.* 33.), and an old Scholiast observes on a female in this honourable department under Agrippina and Nero.

On the subject of Catherine's religion what is to be said ?—Her letter to the Pope is a substantial proof that bigotry and fanaticism had not any share in the catalogue of her crimes. In all the sanguinary conflicts the lower classes of people entered into them on conscientious principles, and from a conviction of the purity of their respective modes of faith, but religion served as a pretext for the great and more particularly for Catherine.—On a false report of a decisive battle being gained by the Huguenots, Catherine said without concern "Eh bien ! nous "prierons Dieu en Français."—But in the existence of the Deity, to whom she supposed she was afterwards to pray in French, did she herself believe ?—There is almost reason to imagine she was an atheist, and what is worse an atheist on principle, and if she was an atheist on principle she ought not to have been suffered to have lived an hour.—The belief of an invisible coercive Power, a Sovereign Governor of all things is absolutely necessary for Kings, even if useless for their subjects. Were the world to be governed by atheists, where could its inhabitants fly for safety ?—Caves and deserts, the centre of the

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passage of Juvenal (*Satyr.* 1. 71.) "Locustam ex Galliis Matronam veneficam a Nerone accitam fuisse, quoniam MAGNÆ FAMÆ ERAT, et Principi ita acceptam, UT ETIAM EUM DOCERET VENENUM MISCERE."

the earth would not afford a single place of security, and death itself would be the only asylum where the oppressor and the oppressed could rest together !—“ Holy and “ sublime idea of Eternal Providence,” in the words of Monsr. Thomas, “ fill and influence the hearts of Kings, “ and those of the Princes that are one day to become “ Kings, and for the sake of the whole race of Mankind, “ let them be RELIGIOUS that they may be JUST and “ MERCIFUL (*a*) !”

It was not from motives of hypocrisy, but to ridicule the reformed Religion that Catherine learned many scriptural phrases, which she called consistorial ; such as “ the “ Counsel of Gamaliel ”—“ How beautiful are the feet of “ them that bring good tidings ”—“ the Lord’s Anointed ” “ —the Image of the Living God,”—and that she often made use of the expressions of “ I call the Eternal to wit- “ ness ”—“ God be the judge between thee and me.”—This language was termed by the Ladies of the Court “ THE “ LANGUAGE OF CANAAN,” and was the amusement and ridicule of the evening in the Queen’s bed-chamber when she retired to rest (*b*).—Ah ! Catherine, was it not sufficient without these insults to assassinate the POOR HUGUENOTS ?—was not the cruelty, without mockery, complete,

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(*a*) “ Sainte et sublime idee de Dieu, remplis l’ame des Rois, ou de ceux qui doivent le devenir ; et pour le bonheur de l’humanité, fais, qu’ils soient religieux afin qu’ils soient justes ! ” *Eloge de Dauphin, Tom.* 4. 229, 230.

(*b*) *Histoire Universelle du Sieur D’Aubigne. tom.* 2. *liv.* 4. 978. *Fol.* 1626.

plete, in the instant of the most perfidious caresses to plunge a dagger into their innocent and unsuspecting bosoms?

Catherine de' Medici's countrymen, who to a great knowledge of commerce joined an insatiable avarice, were placed by her at the head of the finances.—The principal employments were filled for half a century by Florentines, and they rendered their country odious on this side of the Alpes.—France, oppressed by their extortions, adopted the Roman proverb, that to make a Genoese seven Jews were necessary, and seven Genoese to make a Florentine.—Such national injuries are beneath the notice of men of worth in every country, but a correct history of the exactions of these harpies, in which all the refinements of rapacity were placed in their true light, would be curious though disgusting.—Many other Italians were, however, concerned in the pillage, though Tuscany was the general birth-place of these vipers, who did not fail to fasten also on the mother, from whose bowels they had sprung.

The honour of having patronised and promoted the arts and sciences is strictly Catherine's due, and she both employed the ablest artists, and rewarded them magnificently.—Architecture was in particular her favourite pursuit. Vast buildings were begun by her orders, though none of them were finished during her life, from

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the plans being too extensive, the funds for them not equivalent, or from some superstitious notions, that the day on which they were completed would be her last, and that she might defer the fatal end of all her greatness by the protraction of her different enterprises.

"Il Governo Nuovo," or the palace of the Governor of Rome, had formerly the name of "Palazzo Mada-"ma," and Catherine de' Medici both built it from a design of Paolo Marucelli, and resided in it before her marriage.—It belonged afterwards for a long time to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The magnificent houses of St. Maur and Chenonceaux are monuments of her taste, as well as the ornaments of France; and that of Monceaux may be added to them, where Henry the IVth withdrew from the toils of state and his noble labours, to solace himself with the beautiful Gabriel d' Etrées.

Catherine de' Medici, having demolished the Palace des Tournelles, constructed that of the Tuilleries, for which Paris is indebted to the architect De Lorme. This famous artist has left a manuscript declaring that the Queen herself had arranged the distribution of the apartments and the elevation of the edifice, and that he had been only concerned in the external decorations.—He has been suspected, notwithstanding, of having employed ed this artifice to exculpate himself from the censures cast on him for the first of these objects, which is very faulty, whilst the architecture and the exterior ornaments are irreproachable.—The succeeding French Monarchs have enlarged this palace, at the expence both of regularity and its appearance, yet after the Louvre and the Luxemburg it is the first palace in Paris.

Catherine built likewise the Hotel de Soissons, which was pulled down a few years ago, though the famous Column, like Trajan's Pillar, erected in the court, has been carefully preserved.—It is the only one indeed in France, and its height and diameter are both considerable.—On some parts of it there are crowns and trophies still visible with the letters H and C interwoven, broken mirrors, and other figures denoting widowhood.—In the inside of the column there is a stair-case that leads to the Armillary Sphere at the top of the column, which Catherine used to visit, in order to consult the stars.—Gresset, one of the most amiable of the French Poets, proposed to substitute the statue of Louis the XVth for this Armillary Sphere—Piron his brother Poet shook his head, and differed from him in rhyme:

" La Colonne de Médicis,
Est odieuse à notre histoire;
Pour en effacer la mémoire,
On ne doit pas être indécis.

Il faut être un heteroclite,
Pour y vouloir placer le Roi;
C'est du vainqueur de Fontenoi,
Faire un Saint Siméon Stylite (*c*)."

The beautiful Mausoleum, which Catherine directed to be raised at St. Denis for her husband Henry the IId, was taken from a design of Primaticcio, a painter, a sculptor, and an architect of Bologna.

Catherine's genius was prodigiously active, and she went through the most important business of the State with so much ease that she had many spare hours for study and amusement.—Books and the conversation of learned men were equally her pleasure.—Great part of the famous library of the Medici had been dispersed or destroyed in the unfortunate tumults and disturbances at Florence, but Catherine purchased a considerable part of it, and carried it into France in opposition to the Grand Duke's wishes.—She preserved what she had recovered in her own private rooms during her life, and the President de Thou afterwards enriched the Royal Library with the whole collection, which he purchased of the Queen's creditors after her death.

Most of the Seven Poets, that compose the French Pleiades, were under more or less obligations to Catherine. Ronsard,

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(*c*) *Œuvres de Piron.*

Ronsard the Poet.

Ronsard, the celebrated Ronsard, who only ought to have been born a century later to have deserved the massy Minerva of silver, which the inhabitants of Toulouse would have given him instead of the little golden twig of eglantine, has often distinguished Catherine in his wild and almost unintelligible verses.—After having boasted for ten years of the charms and favours of Cassandra his early mistress, the Queen told him he ought like Petrarch to be more chaste in his amours, and Ronsard then sung the praise of Helen de Sugeres, one of the Maids of Honour, whose ugliness was notorious and ill corresponded with her name or the beauty of her companions.—The Poet requested the Cardinal du Perron would indulge him with a preface to these galant sonnets in which he was to assure the reader that his passion for his mistress was perfectly correct and pure. Du Perron excused himself, and advised the Poet instead of a preface to place a print of his mistress at the head of his book, which would effectually secure him against every suspicion.

Clement Marot.

Catherine admitted the ingenious Clement Marot to her dangerous familiarity.—Even during the time when his translation of the Psalms excited the clamours of the Sorbonne and the whole body of the Clergy, the Courtiers were anxious to learn them by heart, and each took the psalm that suited his inclination, or was best adapted to his purpose.—Whilst Henry the Dauphin sung in the chace and in the forest,

"Comme le cerf longuement pourchassé
Quelque ruisseau désire pour retraite, &c."

and his mistress Diana de Poitiers in dancing the "Vol-"te or the "Branle of Poictou,"

"Du fond de ma pensée;"

Catherine de' Medici astonished her attendants with the horrible and profane paraphrase of the Sixth Psalm set to the air "des Bouffons."—She applied to her husband's infidelities the words which David in dust and sackcloth addressed to the Father of Mercy, whom he had grievously offended.

"Ne veuillez pas ô Sire,
Me reprendre en ton ire, &c.
Ah mon esprit se trouble,
Grandement et au double,
En extrême soucy.
O Seigneur plein de grace,
Jusques à quand sera-ce,
Que me lairras ainsy ?
Hélas Sire retourne,
D'entour de moy détourne,
Ce merveilleux esmoy, &c.
Toute nuit tant travaille,
Que lict chalit et paille,
En pleurs je fay noyer;
Et en eau goutte à goutte,
S'en

S'en va ma couche toute,
Par si fort larmoyer, &c."

Amyot.

Montaigne and Rabelais, the free or licentious spirits of the age, appear to have neglected Catherine and been indifferent to her patronage or favour.—Amyot, the translator of Plutarch, owed his introduction as preceptor to her two eldest sons to the Chancellor de l'Hôpital's interest with Henry the IId, and Catherine either injured him or would have done so on a most essential occasion. —In a conversation at Charles the IXth's table, where Amyot was obliged always to attend, the subject of the Emperor Charles the Vth's having raised his preceptor to the Papal Chair had been introduced and mentioned highly to his credit. The young King was struck with the circumstance, and observed, that if he had an opportunity he should be glad to follow the example.—Soon afterwards the Grande-Aumônerie became vacant, and Charles made choice of Amyot to fill it. This great scholar, who was the son only of a Currier at Melun, and had begged alms himself in the streets of Paris, modestly declined the honour, but the King would not admit of his excuses, and was determined on his promotion. In this stage of the business, Catherine, who had intended the employment for another person, came to the knowledge of what had passed, and sending for Amyot into her cabinet, paid him the following frightful compliment. " J'ai fait bouquer les Guises et les Châtillons,

"les Connétables et les Chanceliers, les Rois de Navarre et les Princes de Condé, et je vous ai en tête petit "Prestolet! Si-vous avez la charge, vous ne vivrez pas "vingt-quatre heures et c'est fait de vous."

To escape from the Queen Mother's resentment and the Monarch's dangerous liberality, Amyot took the precaution of concealing himself, till he supposed the storm would be blown over, and he should be forgotten.—Charles, however, on inquiry being informed of the reason of his absence, replied very angrily "Quoi! parce-"que je l'ai fait Grand-Aumônier, on l'a fait disparaitre!" and fell into such a rage that Catherine had nothing left but to find Amyot as fast as possible, and at the same time give him every assurance in her power for his life and personal safety.

Luigi Alamanni.

Amongst the number of men of talents protected by Catherine de' Medici, Luigi Alamanni was without contradiction the most illustrious. This Florentine exile had taken refuge in France, and been received with open arms by Francis the Ist. Catherine continued to him the same gracious protection, and also appointed him Intendant of her Palace and her Household.—Alamanni, loaded with favours by Francis the Ist, had not been very delicate, when he had occasion to mention his rival Charles the Vth, and in one of his poems he had introduced the Imperial Eagle with the addition of the

“ ———————— grifagna
Che per divorar due becci porta (*a*).”

Being sent by Francis with a commission to the Emperor in the time of an unmeaning peace between them, when he had finished his introductory speech Charles the Vth looked stedfastly at him and repeated the

“ ———————— Aquila grifagna
Che per divorar due becci porta.”

Without being disconcerted Alamanni made the best excuse in his power, and the Emperor accepting the apology treated him in a manner suitable to his talents.

We have from Alamanni elegies and satires.—Most of his epigrams are Madrigals, whose principal merit consists in elegance of diction, though there are some few written with strength and spirit (*b*).—The Avarchide and Giron Cortese are heroic poems, in high estimation with the connoisseurs, and some Italians, though they are not numerous,

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(*a*) Luigi Alamanni.

(*b*) “ Tornata a Menelao l'ingiusta Helena,
Dicca, di pianto e di vergogna piena,
Ben fù rapita esta terrena salma,
Ma sempre, il Ciel il sa, restò tua l'alma.
Et egli : Jo'l credo ben ; ma a non celarte,
Mi lasciasti di te la peggior parte.”

numerous, prefer the latter of these works to Ariosto.— Its hero is possessed of every great and amiable quality, and is a model of perfection.

The beautiful poem "della Coltivazione" or on Agriculture, dedicated to Catherine de' Medici, is of all Alamanni's poems that which fixes his reputation as a classic author.—The digressions may be, perhaps, too few, but the numbers are very smooth, and their softness, their sweetness, and their elegance joined to the charms of the subject, inspire that calm serenity, and awaken that taste for rural life which the Abbé de l'Isle has so deliciously described in his translation of Virgil's Georgics.—

"Ah loin de tous ces maux que le luxe fait naître,
Heureux le laboureur, trop heureux s'il sait l'être!
La terre libérale et docile à ses soins,
Contente à peu de frais ses rustiques besoins.
Il ne voit point chez lui sous des toits magnifiques,
Des flots d'adulateurs inonder ses portiques.
Il ne voit pas le peuple y dévorer des yeux,
De riches tapis d'or, des vases précieux;
D'agréables poisons ne brulent point ses veines;
Le fard n'altère point la blancheur de ses laines;
Il n'a point tous ces arts qui trompent notre ennui:
Mais que lui manque-t'il? La Nature est à lui.
Des grottes, des étangs, une claire fontaine,
Dont l'onde en murmurant l'endort sous un vieux chêne,

Un troupeau qui mugit, des vallons, des forêts,
Ce sont là ses trésors, ce sont là ses palais.
C'est dans les champs qu'on trouve une mâle jeunesse.
C'est là qu'on sert les Dieux, qu'on chérit la vieillesse.
La justice fuyant nos coupables climats,
Sous le chaume innocent porta ses derniers pas (c)."

This poem with that of the "Api" or the Bees by Ruccellai, and some recent productions form the Georgics of modern Italy.—To Luigi Alamanni Italy is indebted for the invention of that comic and natural verse with the accent on the antepenultima termed "sdrucciolo," and written in imitation of the Iambics of Greece and Rome.

(c) *Traduction des Georgiques.*—Alamanni appears to have copied with great exactness.

"O beato colui che in pace vive,
De i lieti campi suoi proprio cultore,
A cui stando lontan dall' altre genti,
La giustissima terra il cibo apporta,
E sicuro il suo ben si gode in seno!
Se ricca compagnia non hai d'intorno,
Di gemme e d'ostro, ne le case ornate,
Di legni peregrin di statue e d'oro,
Se le soglie non hai dentro e di fuore,
Di chi parte e chi vien calcate e cinte,
Ne mille vani onor ti scorgi intorno,
Sicuro almen nel poveretto albergo,
Con la famiglia pia t'adagi e dormi:
Qual hor ti svegli all'apparir de l'alba,
Non truovi fuor chi le novelle apporte,
Di mille a i tuoi desir contrari effetti,
Ne caminando o stando a te conviene,
All' altrui satisfar più ch'al tuo core.
Come a null' altra par dolcezza reca,
Dell' arbor proprio, e da te stesso inserto,
Frà la casta consorte e i cari figli,
Quasi in ogni stagion goderse i frutti,
Poi darne al tuo vicin! &c."

L. Alamanni.

Many of the Florentine families attended Catherine de' Medici into France, and the Gondi became very famous both for her favours and their fortunes.—The French writers and even the President de Thou have extremely exaggerated the feeble origin of this respectable family, and represented it both as mean and vile, and an extraordinary instance of the caprice of Fortune.—Undoubtedly the family was successful, but the Gondi had previously enjoyed great credit for two centuries in their native country, though only simple citizens.—Alberto Gondi first laid the foundation of its astonishing success, and he had also the happiness of seeing it arrive at the summit of greatness.—The libels of the times state that his father Giovanni Batista Gondi du Perron was one of the Florentine bankers settled at Lyons, and every page teems with invectives against him and his mother. The former is treated as a Bankrupt and a Cheat, and the latter highly patronised by Catherine de' Medici as a Procuress and a Prostitute. It is very probable that neither the one or the other might be remarkable for the most exact virtue, yet such a torrent of accusation proves the passions of the writers were parties in the cause.—The son was created

Alberto Gondi

The Count de Retz.

ated Count de Retz, the first, and afterwards sole gentleman of the Chamber to Charles the IXth, and also Marshal of France.—The author of the Preface to the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz is very much displeased with the charge against the Count of having recommended the young King to pay little regard to truth and always to disguise his sentiments. All the historians agree unanimously in this opinion, and as they lived in the times of which they wrote, and might easily have acquired a perfect knowledge of its accuracy or falsity, it would be ridiculous to doubt of their concurrent evidence. The Marshal insinuated insensibly into his sovereign maxims till then unknown to the French Monarchs or only practised by the hypocrite and tyrant Louis the XIth, "that to govern it was prudent to divide—to humiliate "the nobles—and to weaken or destroy the first families "of the kingdom."—Charles profited wonderfully from his Privy Counsellor.—Yet at the close of his reign he appeared to blush for himself, and he even sent the author of these principles to a distance from his Court and recommended him to his brother the King of Poland, where a new field was open for the seeds of his destructive policy.—When it is recollected how many great offices this foreigner united in his person, it is astonishing to find him proposed by the Baron de Castelnau, the only French author who mentions him with respect, as an example of moderation. Of all the honours, which Catherine de' Medici conferred upon him, that of the Marshal's Staff gave his enemies the greatest reason of complaint, and occasioned the greatest public outcry. France saw with indignation the highest military honour of the kingdom lavished on a person, who had been only in a few trifling skirmishes, and did not even own the profession of arms as his profession. This certainly does not prove his want of courage, but envy and resentment have not failed to throw in this defect, to swell the list of his foibles, his imperfections, or his vices.—D'Aubigné has under the guise of allegory touched on them very freely.

“ Gare, gare, gare le corps, car voici le chariot de
“ Madame Poltronerie, tiré par quatre Daims, et autant
“ de Renards, sur lequel fait bonne mine la triomphante
“ avec de grands yeux, des oreilles ouvertes, le teint pasle;
“ on dit qu'elle a fait ses affaires dans ses chausses:
“ elle ne pouvant endurer plus grand bruit n'a musique
“ que d'un Monicordion, sur lequel joue une bourrée
“ l'Aise accroupie sur le devant du chariot; à une des
“ portes est la Paresse qui a la roupie au nez, une de ses
“ mains dans le sein, et l'autre dans la braguette de son
“ confesseur: de l'autre côté est la Honte qui se cache le
“ visage du coude, c'est pourquoi nous ne la pouvons
“ physionomiser. Les prisonniers sont force vaillans
“ hommes du siècle, tant de Bourbon que de Lorraine,
“ les Chastillons, les Birons, la Noue, Montgomery, &c.
“ Tant y a que ces mauvais garçons sont menés en triomphe
“ par force gens victorieux, entre lesquels paroissent
“ le feu Maréchal de Retz, &c. &c.”

If the Marshal was not a warrior he was an able courtier, and a remarkable instance of his address has been preserved.—Seeing his favour on the wane with Henry the IIId by the promotion of the royal minions, and aware that Joyeuse had long cast his eyes on the employment of First Gentleman of the Chamber, he made his appearance in the King's cabinet, to which the Monarch and his favourite Joyeuse had retired, having given orders that no person was to be admitted.—The Chamberlain had for some time stopped the Marshal, but at last, on the promise of a reward, and assurance that the disobedience of his orders should not injure him, he was admitted.—Both the King and his favourite were confounded, but the Marshal told his Majesty that he had broken in upon him so abruptly to ask a particular favour, and it was—that as he wished to resign his place of Gentleman of the Chamber, from his age, and his Majesty had never bestowed any thing on Joyeuse, one of the most accomplished persons of his Court, he requested he would give him the appointment.—The King appeared unwilling to accept the resignation, the Marshal pressed it, the King consented, and Joyeuse received it with every mark and protestation of gratitude.

The Marshal de Retz died in 1602, the last of the authors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and like all the rest of them, in the agonies of horror and remorse.

It is very doubtful whether he wrote the Memoirs of the Troubles in France, in which he had so great a share, as the belief of it is founded on the sole authority of Varillas, who pretends that the Manuscript was then existing in the family of a Mons^r. Clement, of the Court of "Aides."—His wife, of the name of Clermont, governess of the royal children, brought him as a marriage portion the barony "de Retz," and was celebrated for her learning and understanding.—When the Polish ambassadors came into France, on the election of the Duke of Anjou to the Crown of Poland, she interpreted for them, and conversed with them in Latin; she spoke Greek, and she wrote both in prose and verse.—Under the veil of ostensible bigotry, and a minute and daily attention to all the little duties of the Roman Catholic Faith, she concealed, it was supposed, a strong attachment to the Huguenots and the Reformed Religion.

Charles de Gondi—"Seigneur de la Tour." Peter de Gondi

The Marshal had two brothers, Charles de Gondi, "Seigneur de la Tour," Grand Master of the Wardrobe, and Peter de Gondi, Cardinal Bishop of Paris.

In speaking of the illness of Charles the IXth, at the departure of the Duke of Anjou for Poland, Mons^r. de Thou takes notice that Gondi de la Tour was suspected of having poisoned the King in concert with his two brothers, and that the Queen Mother was privy to the plot.—Their dissatisfaction, it was said, arose from his having

ing in his youth raised them, at the request of his mother, to the highest offices, notwithstanding the murmurs of the whole French nobility; and afterwards repenting of it, and wishing to humiliate them.—Another report was propagated at Court, which represents the fact in a very different and more horrid light.—The young Prince had not been able to resist the charms of Helène Bon, the wife of the Seigneur de la Tour, and took the precaution of sending her husband to a distance for some days. Gondi de la Tour suspecting the intrigue, returned unexpectedly at the most improper time for the two lovers; and Charles, in a rage at being surprised in this manner, not only laid his positive commands on him to be silent on the subject of his wife's infidelity, but even threatened him with annihilation if he even mentioned it to her.—Fear for some time sealed his lips, but the amour becoming afterwards notorious, the Duke of Guise, attentive to every advantage, dissatisfied with the King, who had never treated him well, and relying on Henry's favour,

> "Oh cæcas hominum mentes! oh pectora cæca!"

prevailed on Gondi de la Tour to make an attempt on the King's life, not only to gratify his revenge, but to save the state by delivering it from a furious and vindictive Monarch.—Gondi died likewise soon afterwards, poisoned by his wife or the Duke of Guise.

Most of the leading circumstances of this event may be found in De Thou, yet, though his veracity is unquestionable, he does not speak positively, and he had the passions and infirmities of human nature, from which he may not have been always free.

Servin does not attribute the death of Gondi de la Tour to poison. "Le 15 Juin 1574," he says, "mourut "à Paris, Messire Charles de Gondi Seigneur de la Tour, "de dépit et mélancolie (comme en fut le bruit commun) "de ce qu'étant Maitre de la Garderobe du Roi n'agueres "défunt, il avoit été privé des meubles et accoutremens "du dit défunt Roi, et autres droits à lui apartenans au "dit titre, par son frère ainé le Comte de Retz, qui avoit "voulu avoir la dépouille et droits dessus dits, comme "ayant baillé ou fait bailler au dit la Tour son frère, le "dit état de Maitre de la Garderobe, et étant cause de "tout son bien et avancement."

The third brother was Peter de Gondi, the Cardinal Bishop of Paris.—Whatever might be his sentiments at the origin of the league, it appears that he was afterwards dissatisfied with it, and that he was even suspected by his former friends.—In the Journal "de l'Etoile," at the 2d of October 1591, we find "Le Cardinal de Gondi notre "Evêque sortit de Paris, faisant courre le bruit qu'il alloit "à sa maison de campagne; mais le véritable motif est "qu'il craint l'intrigue des Seize, qui ne le consultent en

" rien, et qui ont découvert que le dit Prélat travaille " sourdement avec quelques Curés en faveur du Roi de " Navarre, et a refusé de signer le nouvel Edit d'Union."

In 1592 he was sent on a deputation to Rome, with the tacit agreement of the King and Duke " de Mayenne," to prevail on his Holiness to acknowledge the King as soon as he had embraced the Roman Catholic Creed.—This journey increased the suspicion of the SIXTEEN, who presented a request to the Duke, and desired he would explain himself on the subject of this embassy, of which he pretended to be ignorant.—If Mayenne had avowed a knowledge of its motives, the SIXTEEN, who were all-powerful at Rome, would certainly have pressed the appointment of another Bishop of Paris, and William Rose, who was a fitter instrument for them, would certainly have succeeded him.—The Cardinal, however, was so much frustrated in every part of his mission, that the royalists believed there was great collusion and treachery in the negotiation.

Towards the end of the last siege but one of Paris, the city was reduced to the last extremity, and Mayenne sent the Prelate to propose a capitulation and a general peace to the King.—In the authorities added to the " Satyre " Ménipée" there is the speech of this great Monarch, delivered before the whole nobility, which is distinguished by a bold and manly eloquence.

“Je ne suis point dissimulé, je dis rondement et sans feintise ce que j’ai sur le cœur. J’aurois tort de vous dire, Mr. le Cardinal, que je ne veuille pas une paix générale. Je la veux et la désire à cause des moyens que j’en acquerrois pour soulager mon peuple, au lieu de perdre et ruïner.——Pour avoir une bataille je donnerois un doigt, et pour la paix générale deux. J’aime ma ville de Paris, c’est ma fille ainée, j’en suis jaloux. Je lui veux faire plus de bien, de grace, et de misericorde qu’elle ne m’en demande; mais je veux qu’elle m’en sache gré, et qu’elle doive ce bien à ma clémence, et non au Duc de Mayenne, ni au Roi d’Espagne. Je suis le vrai père du mon peuple. Je ressemble cette vraye mère dans Salomon; j’aimerois quasi mieux n’avoir point de Paris, que de l’avoir tout ruïné et dissipé. Ceux de la Ligue ne sont point ainsi. Vous Mr. le Cardinal en devez avoir pitié; ce sont vos ouailles, de la moindre goutte du sang desquelles vous serez responsable devant Dieu.——Je ne suis pas bon Thélogien; mais j’en sais assez pour vous dire, que Dieu n’entend point que vous traitiez ainsi le pauvre peuple qu’il vous recommandé, mesmes à l’apetit et pour faire plaisir au Roi d’Espagne et à Mr. le Légat.——Voulez-vous avoir les pieds chauffés en l’autre monde?——Et comment voulez-vous espérer de me convertir à votre Religion, si vous faites si peu de cas du salut et de la vie de vos ouailles? C’est me donner une pauvre preuve de votre sainteté. J’en serois trop mal édifié.”

The Cardinal then explained himself, and assured the King, that the reason he proposed a GENERAL peace was from his knowledge if Paris capitulated without the peace being general, it would not be in safety from the Duke of Mayenne and the King of Spain, who would immediately besiege it, and might re-take it. On which "le Roi, "jettant les yeux sur toute la Noblesse, dit; s'il y vient "lui et tous ses alliés, par Dieu nous les battrons bien, "et leur montrerons bien que la Noblesse Française se "sait défendre.——Puis soudain se corrigea. J'ai juré "contre ma coutume; mais je vous dis encore, mon Car-"dinal, par le Dieu vivant nous ne souffrirons point cette "honte."

In the assembly of the Notables at Rouen in 1596, the Cardinal was placed at the head of the Council of Finance.—Of Florentine extraction, he had managed his own family affairs with a species of œconomy bordering upon avarice; and from this circumstance it was expected he might have been better qualified to regulate the most difficult department of the kingdom.—But neither Gondi nor the members of his council, who had given it the title of "Conseile de Raison," as was observed by Sully, did any thing rationally, and they were soon obliged to resign their offices.—It was this adventure that determined Henry the IVth to intrust the superintendence of the finances to the great Colbert's more illustrious predecessor.—The Cardinal was not very eminent for his literary talents, and was far surpassed by his sister-in-law, the wife of the Marshal de Retz, and an instance of his ignorance is recorded in the Journal of "l'Etoile."—"Arriva "à Paris la Bulle de Jubilé, qu'on disoit être l'absolution "du Roi, encore qu'elle y fut tout contraire, car elle "donnoit plénière et entière remission a tous qui gagne- "roient le dit Jubilé, fors à ceux qui auroient été excom- "muniés par les prédécesseurs de S. S., ce qui touchoit "directement le Roi; lequel toutefois avoit été imbû de "cette opinion par Mr. de Paris, qui l'avoit assuré que "c'étoit son absolution, et l'avoit dit tout haut, ce qui en "fit courir le bruit par-tout; laquelle faute S. M. rejetta "plaisamment le lendemain sur Mr. de Paris, car il dit "qu'il falloit bien dire, que Mr. de Paris avoit rencontré "en cette Bulle quelque mot de Latin de travers (diffi- "cile) sur lequel il n'avoit pu mordre."

The Cardinal died in 1616, at above eighty years of age.—His elder brother, the Marshal, left four sons—Charles de Gondi, Marquis of Bellîle, killed before Mount St. Michel in 1596, who married Antoinette d'Orleans, sister to the Duke of Longueville.—Their son Henry, the first Duke de Retz, commanded in 1620 the troops of the Queen Mother, the widow of Henry the IVth, at the weak defence of the Bridge "de Cé."

Henry de Gondi.

Henry de Gondi—the Cardinal who obtained the Bishopric of Paris on the death of his uncle.—The Constable de Luynes dying in 1621, the Count de Schomberg, in conjunction with the Bishop, aspired to the direction of public affairs; and whilst they secretly endeavoured to secure it, they were lavish in their declamations against favourites.—The following passage from the Memoirs of Bassompierre proves the jealous and capricious humour of the master they wished to reduce under their influence and subjection.

" Le Roi parloit de fortune à Mr. le Maréchal de Prâlin et à moi, quand le Cardinal de Retz entra avec Mr. " de Schomberg. Il nous dit en les voyant venir, mon " Dieu que ces gens sont fâcheux! Quand on pense passer son tems, ils me viennent tourmenter, et le plus " souvent n'ont rien à me dire. Moi, qui étois bien aise " de leur donner une étrête, dis au Roi; comment, Sire, " ces Messieurs viennent-ils, sans être mandés de vous, " ou sans avoir précédemment fait savoir à V. M. qu'il y " avoit quelque chose d'importance à délibérer, et sur ce " demandé votre heure? non, ce me dit-il, ils ne me le " font jamais savoir, et viennent quand il leur plaît. Jésus, Sire, est-il possible? lui répondis-je. C'est vous " traiter en écolier. Négociez en Roi, et que tous les " jours un de vos Secretaires d'Etat vous vienne dire, s'il " est arrivé quelque affaire importante, et que sur cela " vous mandiez à ces Messieurs qu'ils vous viennent trouver, ou à l'heure même, ou à celle qui vous sera la plus " commode.——Le Roi prit en bonne part ce que je lui "avois remontré, et me dit, qu'à l'heure même il mettroit mon conseil en pratique, et continua de causer "avec Mr. le Maréchal de Prâlin et moi. Quand cela "eut un peu duré, Mr. le Prince vint dire au Roi; Sire, "ces Messieurs attendent pour tenir conseil. Le Roi se "tourna vers Mr. le Prince avec un visage emû, et lui dit, "quel conseil, Monsieur? je ne les ai point mandés; je "serois enfin leur valet.——Ils lui firent dire par Mr. le "Prince, qu'ils n'étoient venus que pour recevoir l'honneur de ses commandemens, comme courtisans et non "autrement. Et que seulement S. M. voulût leur dire "un mot, après quoi ils s'en retourneroient; ce que le "Roi fit, mais bien brusquement; qui fut, Messieurs, je "m'en vai jouer avec cette bonne compagnie. Ils lui firent lors une grande révérence, et s'en allèrent bien "étonnés."

If the Cardinal de Retz had however succeeded in his attempt to get possession of the authority vacant by the death of the Constable de Luynes, he would not have long enjoyed it, for he died the year following in 1622. —The design of the destruction of the Huguenot party had been projected by him, but the equivocal glory of its execution was reserved for the Cardinal de Richelieu.

John Francis de Gondi.

John Francis de Gondi—his brother, succeeded him in the See of Paris, and afterwards became its first Archbishop.—Gregory the XIth, whom Charles the Vth had requested to erect the See of Paris into an Archbishopric, had excused himself on the pretence that he was prevented by the smallness of its revenue; yet in the early ages of Christianity an objection of this kind would not probably have been made.—Louis the XIIIth made the same request at Rome, and the Papal Monarch complied with it.—This first Archbishop of Paris is described by his successor as a very little Prelate, very jealous, very difficult to please, very debauched, in short the weakest of all mankind, and, as often happens, the most envious. —He died in 1653.

The fourth son of the Marshal de Retz was Philip Emanuel de Gondi—Count de Joigny, General of the French Gallies, who passed thirty years of his life with the Fathers of the Oratory, and died in 1662 with the reputation of great piety.—It is certain that the Regent Anne of Austria offered him the place of Prime Minister, and that on his waving it she gave it to the Cardinal Mazarin. Yet the rejection was probably pretended: if the virtuous de Gondi had not peremptorily refused to quit his cell, in all likelihood he would soon have been under the necessity of returning to it, and would not have been able to do more than the good Bishop of Beauvais, for, in the words of Nani on a similar occasion, "l'eccellenza dell' ingegno tien predominio in tutte le "cose;" and for public stations abilities as well as virtue are absolutely necessary.

The Count de Joigny left two sons, Peter de Gondi, the second and last Duke de Retz, who died in 1676, without children by his wife, the eldest daughter of his cousin-german the first Duke of the name.

Cardinal de Retz.

The Count de Joigny's second son figures in the History of France as the modern little Cataline, or the famous Coadjutor, and played one of the first characters, during the minority of Lewis the XIVth, on the stage of government.—According to the historian of the Parliament of Paris, he had all the GREAT QUALITIES that he wished to have; but those of a Bishop, a good Citizen, and an honest Man, had never been the objects of his inclination.—Both his talents for intrigue, and his unbounded ambition appeared very early in his life, for at twenty he said, "J'ai bien suputé, César à mon âge devait six fois plus que moi."—The Minister to whom this characteristic sally was reported afterwards had reason to remember it, and laugh at it.—When they carried him also about the same time "La Conjuration des "Fiesques," written by the young Gondi. "Voilà," he observed, "un dangereux esprit."—He seized indeed the first opportunity of entering into cabals, and whilst he was almost a child he espoused the party of the Count de Soissons, and became one of its principal supports.—The conspiracy against the life of the Cardinal de Richelieu did not miscarry through his fault.

Though perhaps it might have been more prudent in him to have been forgotten by posterity, that was far from being his wish.—His Memoirs, an excellent book of the kind notwithstanding it is written unequally, is from the beginning to the end a libel on himself—an exact picture of the inconsistency of his head and the malevolence of his heart.—Perhaps no other person ever gave such a character of himself, without any one indication either of repentance or regret.—In comparison with the Cardinal de Retz Mathan in Athaliah becomes probable and natural (*a*).—The following sentiments, with a multitude of others of a similar nature, are scattered through the work.

“ Des convenances de famille affublèrent d'une soutane
“ l'ame la moins ecclésiastique qui fût dans l'Univers. ——
“ Mon libertinage était extrême et hors de raison. ——
“ Il ne tint pas à moi de me faire assassiner. —— Je n'ou-
“ bliai

(*a*) “ J'aprochai par dégrés de l'oreille des Rois,
Et bientôt en oracle on érigea ma voix.
J'étudiai leur cœur, je flattai leurs caprices,
Je leur semai de fleurs le bord des précipices,
Près de leurs passions rien ne me fut sacré.
De mesure et de poids je changeois à leur gré.
Autant que de Joad l'infléxible rudesse,
De leur superbe oreille offensait la mollesse,
Autant je les charmois par ma dextérité,
Dérobant à leurs yeux la triste vérité,
Prêtant à leurs fureurs des couleurs favorables,
Et prodigue surtout du sang des misérables.”

" bliai rien pour faire éclater mes combats, jusqu'au point " d'avoir aposté des témoins ; mais l'on ne peut forcer le " destin, et l'on ne songea pas seulement à informer. —— " Je demeurai là avec ma soutane et mes duels. —— Je " ne faisais pas le dévot, parceque je ne me pouvais pas " assurer que je pusse durer à le contrefaire, mais j'estimais beaucoup les dévots, et à leur égard c'est un des " plus grands points de la piété. Ma conduite me réussit ; les dévots disaient que je n'avais pas assez de " piété, mais que je n'étais pas trop éloigné du Royaume " des Cieux. —— Je trouvais l'Archevêché de Paris dégradé à l'égard du monde par les bassesses de mon oncle, et désolé à l'égard de Dieu, par sa négligence et " par son incapacité. Je prévoyois des oppositions infinies à son rétablissement, et je n'étais pas si aveugle que " je ne connusse, que la plus grande et la plus insurmontable était dans moi-même. Je n'ignorais pas de quelle " nécessité est la règle des mœurs à un Evêque ; je sentais " que le désordre scandaleux de celles de mon oncle me " l'imposait encore plus étroite et plus indispensable " qu'aux autres, et je sentais en même tems que je n'en " étais pas capable, et que tous les obstacles de conscience " et de gloire que j'oposerais au déréglement, ne seraient " que des digues fort mal assurées. Je pris après six " jours de réfléxion, le parti de faire le mal par dessein, " ce qui est sans comparaison le plus criminel devant " Dieu, mais ce qui est sans doute plus sage devant le " monde."

The Cardinal's method of procuring the Red Hat was a master-stroke of politics, and he boasts of being the sole author of the memorable sedition which occasioned the civil war. Undoubtedly he was very instrumental in it, and if he afterwards appeared to abandon any ostensible authority, it was very certain that he was the whole soul of the "Fronde."—His genius even for some time raised him to a level with the Crown.—This civil war was, it must be confessed, less destructive than that of the League, and it arose from the circumstance of the Cardinal and his accomplices being either unable or unwilling to make it a War of Religion.—The revolt indeed to its termination seemed to be only a species of angry buffoonery, and a cruel and abominable pleasantry.—The Frondeurs and the Mazarines, under the influence of folly and resentment, resembled those grotesque and ferocious animals in the forests of Brazil or India, whose gambols end in blood, and that tear each other in pieces out of wantonness and frolic.—The Cardinal de Retz's punishment consisted merely of a confinement in the castle of Vincennes, where he amused himself with composing, in imitation of Boëthius, the "Consolation of Theology," in which he proves that every prisoner ought to endeavour to be the "Vinctus in Christo," of whom St. Paul speaks.—After his escape from the castle of Vincennes, he took refuge in Italy, and his superior address was very conspicuous on the two vacancies of the Holy See.—The Conclave, it is well known, is an assembly where great penetration and great quickness of parts are most wanted, for almost every instant there is a variation in the face of affairs, and the most refined strokes of policy are exhibited.—It was on one of these vacancies that the Cardinal observed to Chigi, afterwards Alexander the VIIth, "Questi maladetti Francesi sono più furti di noi altri"—"these confounded French are greater rascals than ourselves."

De Retz's retreat is without contradiction the most brilliant action of his life, and yet it is not perhaps so surprising as it at first appears.—We may learn from the Memoirs of his confidential friend Joly, that to great activity he joined an indolence without example, and this unfolds the mystery of a step which a turbulent and ambitious spirit could not otherwise have taken.—It has been said, that it was impossible to esteem him, to fear him, to love him, or to hate him, except to excess.—Outrageous and extravagant in all his passions and pursuits, his friendships were violent—his enmities implacable and mortal.—They who recollect his life and character may probably smile at a few short observations on the subject from Father Negri. "The Red Hat furnished him with "the means of supporting more efficaciously the dignity "of the Archbishopric and its rights, to which another "Cardinal and the first Minister of the kingdom did not "sufficiently attend.—Whilst his rival lived he considered "it as a point of honour and his duty to oppose him with "intrepidity and resolution; as soon as he expired Retz

" renounced very quietly, and with great magnanimity, " his Church of Paris, but the zealous Ecclesiastic did not " long survive his resignation (*a*)."

Margaret Frances de Gondi.

Margaret Frances de Gondi, the second daughter of the first Duke de Retz, was the celebrated Dutchess de Brissac, the most beautiful coquet in the Court of young Louis " le Grand."—Her cousin the Coadjutor had been intimately connected with her, and he tells us " she had " without comparison the most beautiful eyes in the " world," and at the same time adds, " ils n'étaient jamais " si beaux que quand ils mouraient."—Such was his want of feeling! such his profligacy!

With the Dutchess de Lesdiguières, the daughter and heiress of Peter de Gondi, the last Duke de Retz, the illustrious Branch of the Gondi, transplanted by the Medici on this side the Alpes, expired.

Jacopo Corbinelli.

Jacopo Corbinelli, a Florentine, followed also the fortune of Catherine de' Medici into France, and was appointed by her Preceptor to her Son the Duke of Anjou. —It

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(*a*) " Con questa eminentissima dignità di Cardinale rese più robusta la qualità d'Arcivescovo, ed appoggiò più vigorosamente le ragioni di sua giurisdizione, che sembravano perturbate da un altero porporato ministro, a cui si fece gloria di resistere fin chè visse, con magnanima intrepidezza; e con eguale generosità, dopo la di lui morte rinunziò pacificamente al sua chiesa di Parigi, e non molto dipoi morì questo zelantissimo porporato."

—It would be the height of injustice however to impute the vices or the crimes of the pupil to his instructions.—Corbinelli was a character that might have done honour to Rome in her virtuous days—a rigid admirer of integrity and truth—a patron of letters—and the intimate friend of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital.—This able and respectable Magistrate has left a fine elogium of him by saying "he was the only Courtier the Court had not "been able to corrupt;" and the President De Thou, when speaking of him, says "that he knew him, and at-"tached himself to him whilst he was at Paris, and that "from his genius and erudition he was generally esteem-"ed."

Bernardo Corbinelli.

Bernardo Corbinelli, his brother, according to the same historian, was a brave and experienced officer, who came into France with the reinforcements sent by the first Duke of Tuscany in 1569 to the Royal Party, but as he had been concerned in the conspiracy of Pandolfo Pucci, he was assassinated by the Grand Duke's orders.—Leonelli Count d'Oddi de Pérouse, and a person of the name of Constantino, were employed in this HONOURABLE service, and after they had cut off Bernardo Corbinelli's head they set out for Italy to present the bloody trophy of their FIDELITY to the Grand Duke.

Rafaello Corbinelli.

Rafaello the son of Jacopo Corbinelli, was Secretary to the Queen Mary de' Medici, and father of another

Corbinelli, a distinguished genius of the last century.—This amiable philosopher lived to a hundred years of age, and having been present in some company where strictures had been made on the government, the Lieutenant of the Police came to examine him respecting the conversation in which he had been concerned.—Rafaello excused himself from the failure of his memory, and Mons^{r}. d'Argenson paid him the compliment of asking, "Mais "un HOMME COMME VOUS peut-il avoir oublié ces cho-"ses-la?" It was repaid by the old man with the "Avec "un HOMME COMME VOUS je ne suis jamais un HOMME "COMME MOI."

Many other Florentine families, as the Bonzi, who almost succeeded by inheritance to the Bishopric of Beziers for more than a century, the del Béné, and the dell' Ancisa, attended Catherine de' Medici into France, and were highly favoured by her, but their history would be too extensive, and the present digression has been perhaps sufficient.

Alessandro de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence.

Alessandro de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, according to most of the historians, was the brother of Catherine, and natural son of Lorenzo Duke of Urbino.—At least it is certain that during his life he was supposed to be so, though Varchi, whose authority has great weight, and some others (*b*), represent him to have been the son of

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(*b*) "Un certo iscioccone di quei Fiorentinî, veduto la medaglia, ch'io faceva of Clement the VIIth; and the marked predilection which Clement shewed him seems to make the latter opinion very probable.—In one of the Duke's journeys to Rome, his enemies wrote on the wall of the house he resided in, "Vive Alessandre de Colle-Vecchio!" by which they meant to reproach him with the meanness of his origin on his mother's side, who had been a poor cottager of that neighbourhood. Alessandro laughed at the wit, and said "he was much obliged to the writer for his information "on the place of his nativity, of which he had till then "been wholly ignorant."—From the year 1524 to 1527, his cousin Ippolito entirely eclipsed him, and he was scarcely ever mentioned; but he acquired afterwards a complete superiority.—One of the principal articles of the treaty between the Pope and the Emperor was the proposed marriage of Alessandro with the Emperor's natural daughter Margaret, and Florence was to be her dowry.—In consequence of this stipulation, after the city had capitulated, Alessandro was installed, placed at the head of the Government with the title of Duke, and the offices of the "Gonfalonier" and "Signori" were abolished, which had subsisted for two hundred and fifty years. —Alessandro soon became odious to the citizens, and Florence saw with indignation a citadel for the first time rise up within its walls. The

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del Duca Lessandro, mi disse; oimè crudelaccio, tu ci vuoi pure immortalare questo arrabbiato tiranno! e perchè tu non facesti mai opera si bella, a questo si conosce, che tu sei sviscerato nemico nostro, e tanto amico loro: chè il Papa ed egli t'hanno pur voluto far impiccare due volte a torto: quello fù il padre e questo il figluolo. ——— Per certo si teneva, che il Duca Lessandro fussi figluolo di Papa Clemente." *Vita di Benv. Cellini.*

The death of Clement the VIIth happened at a critical and unfortunate time for Alessandro.—Margaret was yet too young to receive the hand of her future husband, and the Emperor, who had never been remarkable for a strict observance of his promises, having no longer Clement to manage, might be tempted to a breach of the engagement, on which the stability of the new Grand Duke's Government depended.—Paul the IIId, who, as he said himself, could never forgive Clement the VIIth for having kept him ten years out of the Papal Chair, wished for nothing more than to humiliate the Medici Family in order to raise his own, and he openly encouraged Alessandro's enemies.

The various efforts of the Cardinal Ippolito, Filippo Strozzi, and the other exiles, to engage the Emperor to withdraw his protection from Alessandro, have been previously mentioned. All that the Emperor wished was to reconcile the two parties, but as the exiles would not listen to any accommodation, Charles confirmed his original decision, that he might not be reproached with inconsistency, or from the circumstance that an education in a palace is not naturally favourable to the cause of liberty.—" My good friend," the Emperor said to Andrea Doria, who interested himself for the exiles, " it is not " liberty that they want, but merely to aggrandize them- " selves."

Of all the Emperors or sons of Emperors, Germanicus and Julian perhaps were only ever actuated with a true Republican spirit.

Marries Margaret the Emperor's daughter.

Alessandro returned in triumph to Florence, soon after married the young Margaret, and his power and authority seemed to be established on those solid foundations which were not to be shaken, when he lost his life at the age of twenty-six, in a melancholy and atrocious manner. —The serpent that he had fostered in his own bosom gave him a mortal wound.—His cousin Lorenzo de' Medici, or more commonly called Lorenzino, one of the most singular characters in history, shortened with his own hand Alessandro's days.

The Duke had such a confidence in Lorenzo as to employ him in his intrigues, and he commissioned him to procure him an interview with one of his relations, a Lady of uncommon beauty and of as uncommon virtue. Lorenzo, who had long waited for a convenient opportunity to put Alessandro to death, informed him there would be great difficulty in obtaining the appointment he wished, but that he would do his utmost to assist him.—Some few evenings afterwards he came to him with intelligence that he had at last prevailed on his relation, after many solicitations and the promise of a considerable present, and that he might meet her that very evening at his house.—The Duke went out and discharged his attendants,

dants, and on his entering Lorenzo's room he took off his sword, threw himself down upon the bed, and drew the curtains.—Lorenzo taking up the Duke's sword, twisted the belt round the hilt, laid it on the bolster, and desired the Duke to rest himself. He then left him, and went in search of Scoronconcolo, one of the lowest class of the people that he had long engaged as an accomplice.—"Friend," said he, "the enemy is now asleep."—"Away, "let us lose no time," replied Scoronconcolo, and they made all the expedition possible.—Lorenzo, opening the curtains of the bed, asked the Duke if he was asleep, and instantly attacked him.—The Duke, feeling himself wounded, made an effort to escape at the bottom of the bed, and attempted to reach the door, protecting himself as well as he was able with a stool.—Scoronconcolo made a stroke at his face, which laid it open.—Lorenzo threw him back upon the bed, held him down, and thrusting his thumb into his mouth to prevent his crying out, requested him ironically "to make himself quite easy."—The Duke bit Lorenzo's thumb so violently, that Lorenzo let him recover himself.—Scoronconcolo then attempted to stab him, but finding he could not execute his purpose without danger to Lorenzo, whom the Duke held fast within his arms, he deliberately drew out his knife, cut Alessandro's throat, and afterwards stabbed him several times.——The assassins threw the dead body, which had slipped down upon the floor, on the bed, and drawing the curtains, Lorenzo went to the

Assassinated by Lorenzo de' Medici.

the window for air.—Several of the domestics had heard the noise, but as Lorenzo, to conceal his purpose, had often brought a number of young men who had pretended to quarrel, and to fight, and to cry out "Murther, death, treason," they had not been in the least alarmed.—Lorenzo dipped his hand in the blood of his slaughtered victim, and wrote with it on the wall a line from Virgil,

> "Vincet amor Patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido (*c*);"

but from the moment he had murthered his Prince, his cousin, and his friend, he appeared to have lost his understanding; he only executed half of his project, and nothing succeeded with him the rest of his life!

Profligacy of his character.

All the historians agree respecting the profligacy of Alessandro's character. They represent him as violent in his passions, cruel and severe in his punishments, impetuous in his inclinations, and not satisfied with being guilty of general injustice to his subjects by excessive taxes and impositions, but oppressing them as individuals; in a word, as one who trampled with insolence on both public decency and public freedom.—Paulus Iovius is the single author who speaks of him with lenity or with respect. "Alexander," he says, "sextum jam regnabat annum, "præclara

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(*c*) *P. Virgil. Æneid. lib.* 6. 824.

" præclara JUSTI et CONSTANTIS PRINCIPIS argu- " menta præbens."—But is the authority of such a writer of any consequence, and are the most authentic historians to be torn in pieces to form a tragical romance on the death of a tyrant?

Exclusive of the citadel of Florence, Alessandro constructed one also at Leghorn, which is called "the For- " tezza Vecchia." Alessandro's arms are still to be seen upon it with the inscription "Un solo Signore, una sola " Legge," which denounce very emphatically the revolution in the Florentine government.—Margaret his widow retired into the citadel at Florence on the Duke's assassination, and conducted herself with a prudence and propriety far beyond her years, whilst she waited for the Emperor's directions. She married sometime afterwards Ottavio Farnese, who was only sixteen (*a*), whose Father Pietro Luigi was the Prince of Nepi and Camerino, as Paul the IIId had not detached till 1544 Parma and Placentia from the Papal See in favour of his abominable son. The

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(*a*) On Margaret's two marriages there is a well-known Epigram, though the circumstance of its being written in allusion to her is not so generally understood.

" Impubes nupsi valido, nunc firmior annis,
Exsucco et molli sum sociata viro.
Ille fatigavit teneram; hic ætate valentem
Intactam totâ nocte jacere sinit.
Dum nollem, licuit; nunc, dum volo, non licet uti.
O Hymen aut annos aut mihi redde virum!"

The celebrated hero Alessandro Farnese was the offspring of this second marriage, and if Philip the IId had either followed the advice of the mother, or had not interrupted the son in his career of victory, in all probability he would have preserved or recovered Holland.—All-righteous Heaven blinded the tyrant's understanding, and the United Provinces after many struggles secured the inestimable blessings of civil and religious freedom!

A beautiful country-house, belonging to the King of Naples, situated on the Monte-Mario, from which it commands a charming view of Rome and its environs, and called "Villa Madama," originally belonged to Margaret. She purchased also the palace which Clement the VIIth had built after the designs of Rafaello, and both Giulio Romano and Giovanni d'Udino had ornamented, the former with his pencil, and the latter with his stuccoe. It continued a long time one of the most beautiful places in the neighbourhood, and it is even yet an object of curiosity to a traveller in his excursions round the ancient Mistress of the World.

Margaret survived near half a century her first husband, and died in 1586, in the Kingdom of Naples.

Giulio de'Medici.

Giulio de' Medici, the natural son of Alessandro, was only a child, five years of age, at the assassination of his father.—Cardinal Cibo, Alessandro's Prime Minister, who wished to govern under the child's name, proposed him to the Council of FORTY-EIGHT as Alessandro's successor.—The intention and the stratagem were visible.—No notice whatever was taken of the Cardinal's proposal, and the infancy of Giulio excluded him rather than his illegitimacy, for in the House of Medici it had been no obstacle in the way of Clement the VIIth, Ippolito, or even Alessandro.—The first Grand Duke Cosmo de' Medici never shewed any jealousy of Giulio.—When he disgraced the Cardinal Cibo, the Prelate indeed accused him of a design to poison Giulio, but Cosmo fully justified himself by the most indisputable evidence, and he procured for him afterwards an establishment suitable to his rank and family.—In 1560 Giulio was Commissary of Monte-Pulciano, and died Grand Prior of the new Order of St. Stephen of Pisa (*b*). Por-

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(*b*) Varchi addressed to him the following Sonnet on the death of one of the first Grand Duke's sons.

"S'io, bene umile, inutil servo, tutto,
 Divenni al tristo suon, gelato ghiaccio;
 Ch'al caldo del dolor mi struggo e sfaccio,
 A pianger sempre e sospirar condutto;
Qual deve esser e quanto il duolo e'l lutto,
 Di voi alto Signor, cui doppio laccio,
 A quel gentile, il qual gridando taccio,
 Con tal vostro piacer, tanto altrui frutto,
Di sangue e d'amistà congiunto avea,
 Con si tenace nodo, ch'altri mai,
 Se non che tutto sfà, sciogliier potea?
Ella l'ha sciolto, anzi l'ha più stretto assai,
 Che più v'ama ora in Ciel, che quì non fea,
 Giovanni, ornato il crin d'eterni rai."

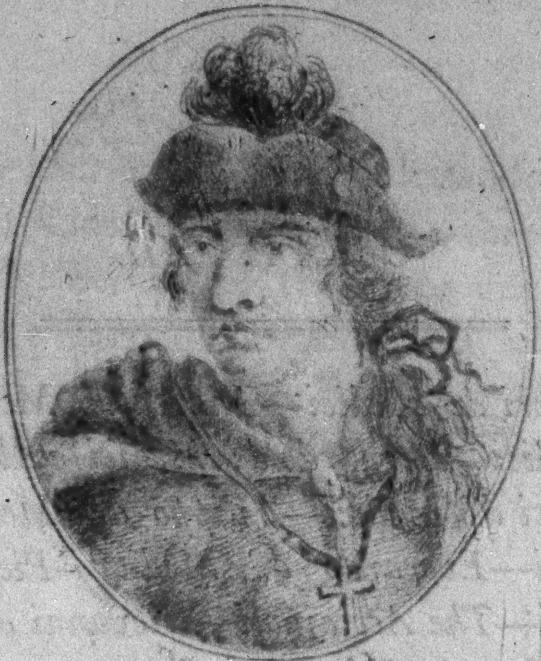
CHAP. XI.

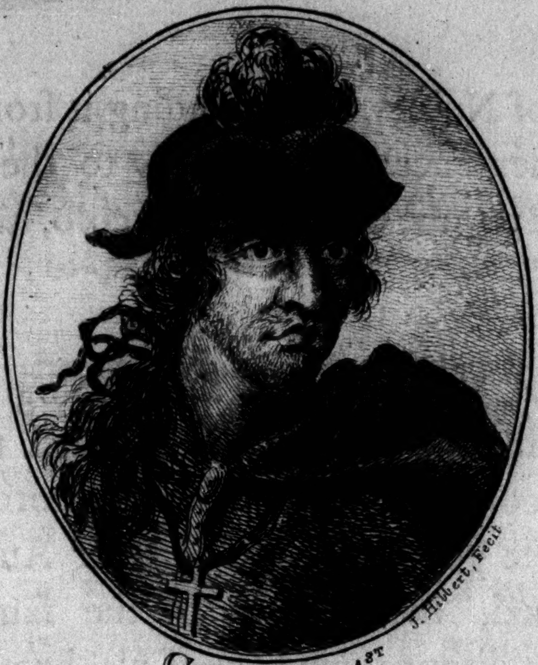
Porcia de' Medici.

Porcia, another natural child of Alessandro, founded the convent of St. Clement at Florence, where she took the veil.—Giuletta her sister, the living image of their father, had a large marriage portion given with her by her relation the Grand Duke to Francesco Cantelmo, a son of the Duke of Popoli and a Neapolitan nobleman.

CHAP. XII.

VERI *or Vieri de' Medici—Andrea de' Medici—Giovanni de' Medici—Bernardo de' Medici—Almanno de' Medici—Bicci de' Medici—Filippo de' Medici—Orlando de' Medici—Everardo de' Medici—Pietro Francesco de' Medici—The Acciajuoli—Giovanni or Giordano de' Medici—Americo Vespucio—Lorenzo or Lorenzino de' Medici, Giuliano, Lodomina, and Maddalena de' Medici—Death of Giovanni de' Medici--His character—Flight of Lorenzo de' Medici after Alessandro's assassination—Assassinated at Venice by two of the late Duke's guards—Doubts on the subject of Michelagnolo's Statue of Brutus—Birth of Cosmo de' Medici—Succeeds Alessandro de' Medici in the Government of Florence—Conducts himself with great prudence and ability—The Emperor confirms Cosmo's election, but retains the fortresses of Pisa and Florence—Republic of Lucca—Conspiracy against Cosmo—Execution of the Conspirators—Cosmo de' Medici delivers up his favourite Carnesecchi to the Pope's Envoy—Galeas de St. Severia Count of Caiazze—Cosmo de' Medici receives the title of Grand Duke from the Pope—Cosmo's unfortunate change of conduct—His Death--Cruelty—Parallel between the Grand Duke and Augustus by the Italian Writers.*





COSMO, 1st.

CHAP. XII.

HAVING taken a view of the descendants of Cosmo de' Medici to the total extinction of the last Branch of the Family, we shall have occasion to return to the grandsons of the celebrated Salvestro and their progeny, to that of the younger sons of Bicci, and lastly to Lorenzo, the younger brother of Cosmo and his posterity.

Veri or Vieri de' Medici.

Veri or Vieri, the eldest son of Salvestro, left Niccolò de' Medici, called by Flavio Biondo in his Italia Illustrata, the worthy scholar of Leonardo Aretino. Amongst Aretino's letters there is one addressed to Niccolò de' Medici in 1406, and in the Copia di Parlamento published by Lami, which has been already cited, Cosmo de' Medici observes, " that his enemies had placed his family "in the rank of Nobles, by excluding it from any offices, "though the sentence did not apply to the sons of the "Cavaliere Veri, one of whom, Niccolò, was then Gonfalonier (*a*)."

Father Negri, the author of the Catalogue of Florentine Writers, inserts in it Carlo de' Medici the son of the Cavaliere Niccolò (*b*), who flourished according to his account about the year 1430.—His sister Aurelia married Luca D'Albizzi, the brother of the famous Rinaldo D'Albizzi, but disapproving (*c*) of his brother's impetuous measures, he entered into Cosmo de' Medici's interests, and the part he took was very advantageous to him and to his children.—He was Gonfalonier in 1442, and his family supported itself with great credit and reputation at Florence, whilst that of his brother was miserably dispersed at Gaeta, Rome, Ancona, Imola, and Cesena.—There is a manuscript Chronicle written by him still at Florence.

Andrea

(*a*) " Fecero la mia famiglia de' Medici de' Grandi, eccetto figluoli di Messer Veri, perchè Niccolò era Gonfaloniere." *Copia di Parlamento, &c.* for which see *Roscoe. Appendix to the 1st vol. page* 4.

(*b*) " Verseggiatore Toscano, ma che spesso latineggiava."

(*c*) " Si mostrò nemico sempre di novità, onde negli scompigli, che tra il suo fratello Rinaldo e Cos. Med. passarono, egli biasimando l'animo terribile di Rinaldo, s'accostò a Cosimo, ajutato ancora a ciò fare dal parentado, ch'egli aveva co' i Medici comè perchè infin da giovane era stato amico di Cosimo, essendosi insieme con esso lui trovato statico nella guerra di Pisa : il che fù senza dubbio la grandezza sua e de' figluoli, i quali vissero poi sempre nella medesima e riputazione nella nol patria." *Scip. Ammirato.*

Andrea de' Medici.

Andrea, the eldest son of Almanno, the second son of Salvestro de' Medici, went into exile with his father in 1396.

Giovanni de' Medici—Bernardo de' Medici.

Giovanni, his son, had a share also in Cosmo de' Medici's temporary disgrace in 1433, as appears by the Copia di Parlamento, and Bernardo, the second son of Almanno, was banished at the same time to Rimini.—Marsilio Ficino reckons him amongst the number of his scholars and his friends; and as he prided himself (*a*) on the purity of their morals and their virtue, it is a sufficient testimony of his character.

Almanno de' Medici.

Almanno, the son of Bernardo, was Gonfalonier of Justice in 1483, and the learned Lami has preserved the name of his son Luigi, a Florentine Canon.

Bicci de' Medici.

Bicci de' Medici, grandfather of Cosmo the Great, had four sons exclusive of Giovanni the Gonfalonier, Matteo, Michele, Paolo, and Francesco.

Matteo left two sons, Filippo and Orlando.

Filippo de' Medici.

Filippo was Bishop of Arezzo, afterwards Archbishop of

(*a*) "Nullos unquam habere amicos statui, nisi quos judicaverim litteras una cum honestate morum, quasi cum Jove Mercurium, conjunxisse."

of Pisa, and died in 1476. His immediate successor was Francesco Salviati, the sworn foe of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, and Sixtus the IVth gave him the Archbishopric for the express purpose of offending the Medici.—In compliance with his patron's inclinations, and perhaps his own, he entered warmly into the Pazzi conspiracy, and was hung at Florence out of one of the old palace windows.—Vasari, speaking of the persons who were in possession of the Medals of the great artist Vettore Pisano, mentions Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa.

Orlando, the brother of Filippo, on the disgrace of Cosmo, his cousin-german, was banished to Ancona for ten years, but he returned before the expiration of his sentence, and was knighted by the Emperor Frederic of Austria when he visited Florence in 1452.

Orlando's daughter, Albiera de' Medici, married in 1451 Tommaso, the son of Luca D'Albizzi and Aurelia de' Medici, and it was by Cosmo de' Medici's interest this match took place, who had the generosity to overlook in the alliance a connection with the nephew of his determined enemy (*b*).—This Tommaso D'Albizzi was Gonfalonier in 1474. Mi-

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(*b*) "Maso di Luca d'Albizzi nell' anno 1451 prende per moglie Albiera de' Medici, figluola del Cavaliere Orlando; matrimonio fatto per opera di Cosimo de' Medici, il quale come savio e prudente cittadino non volea lasciar cosa adictro per mantenersi amico e parente un giovane di tanta nobiltà e speranza come era Maso."
Scip. Ammirato.

Michele and Paolo, the second and third sons of Bicci, are only known by name.

Everardo de' Medici.

Their youngest brother Francesco left one son, Everardo or Averardo, who was one of the Great Cosmo's most zealous partisans.—In the Copia di Parlamento he is often mentioned under the name "del cugino Averardo," cousin Averardo.—He had vast boldness and resolution in his character, but he was not generally esteemed in Florence, and there is an ancient Chronicle (*c*), of which Lami has published an edition that speaks of the whole city melting into tears when Cosmo de' Medici was exiled to Padua, whilst not a single person regretted or was concerned at the banishment of Everardo to Naples (*d*).—His son Giuliano is mentioned in a long letter from Filelfo to Cosmo, in which he complains of the ill treatment he had received from his friends, and in particular from Giuliano, the son of his cousin-german Everardo, who had been uncommonly violent against him (*e*).

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(*c*) "Estratto de' Libri de' Casi.

(*d*) "Fù confinato Averardo a Napoli, ma a niuno non increbbe, ma de Cosimo a infiniti ne increbbe, per le pietose e virtuose sue opere verso i cittadini, e povere persone."

(*e*) "Inimici, tuorum et clientum et necessariorum muniti factione, tantum efficere potuerunt, ut publicè Doctorum omnium salaria diminuerentur, opinati ii sanè, si mihi quoque ex publicâ mercede subtraheretur, fore ut ipse necessariò cogerer abire Florentiâ, ——— At hic videre tu Cosme perspicuè potuisti, quam uni-

We are now arrived at Lorenzo the Elder, the brother of Cosmo de' Medici, and the root of the Grand Duke's family.—Lorenzo has been principally known by the splendor reflected on him by his brother who governed Florence, and by the honour of his own immediate posterity, which has been more firmly established in the sovereignty of Tuscany.—Lorenzo shared in his brother's exile, returned with him, and rose to the first offices in his native city.—Poggio celebrates him as a person adorned with every virtue, "omni virtute virum celebrem," though Filelfo paints him in the blackest colours, and openly charges Lorenzo with repeated attempts to assassinate him (*f*).—Lorenzo did not survive many years his

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versa civitas me diligeret. Diminutionem illam constitutæ pecuniæ Doctores omnes assensi sunt, solus ipse rei indignitatem non admisi. Qui mihi incommodasse arbitrabantur, læti atque exsultantes per urbem ferebantur. Putabant homines stultissimi voto se potitos, nescientes esse virtutem denique apud omnes venerabilem, et eam esse vim eloquentiæ, quæ in liberis civitatibus plurimum semper valeat. ——— Ipse rem in Senatum detuli, ubi cum pro re meâ orationem habuissem, et moderatam et simplicem, consurrexêre nonnulli familiares et amici tui, et quidam etiam sanguine conjuncti, in quibus erat Julianus Medices, Everardi patruelis tui filius. Sic sanè omnes aperto marte contra postulata mea perorârunt, tum ego coactus eâ necessitate."

(*f*) "Posteaquam nulla aut juris aut æqui simulatione perditissimorum hominum rabies nocere mihi potuisset, ad arma concursum est. Parato sicario, manè cum in publicam illam quam nôsti academiam docendi gratiâ pergerem, ex occultis insidiis in me nihil tale neque caventem neque cogitantem impetus factus est, &c. &c. Qui fuerit sicarius notum est; a quibus autem conductus etsi nihil habetur certi, infamia tamen in Medices repit et Cosmum, quum non solum ejus factio mihi semper adversaretur, sed etiam Laurentius frater apertè multa adversus me ageret."

"Iterum idem sicarius missus est Senas ad me interimendum. ——— Florentiæ quoque patuit de sicario; patuit de licitatore conductoreque sicarii. Is enim fuit his brother's return, and leaving by his wife Genevra Cavalcanti a son, Francesco de' Medici, died in 1440.—His funeral oration may be seen in Poggio's works.

The Cavalcanti was one of the most illustrious ancient families of Florence, as may be collected from Malespini, Villani, and also Dante, who has immortalized two of them in his Inferno.

Pietro Francesco de' Medici.

Pietro Francesco de' Medici, one of the richest and most powerful citizens of Florence, lived on good terms with his relations of the elder branch of the family, and dying in 1477 left by his wife Lodomina Acciajuoli two sons, Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici.

The Acciajuoli.

The Acciajuoli, though of younger extraction than the Cavalcanti, are notwithstanding the oldest of the families which are now existing in Florence, and the Neapolitan Monarchs often conferred on them the highest honours and employments.—Niccolò Acciajuoli distinguished himself greatly in the fourteenth century. His father having sent

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homo impurissimus ac nequam Hieronymus Imolensis. Sed qui fuerint facinoris auctores, qui mercedem quam pepigissent sicario persolverint, in obscuro est; cum tamen novêre plures, Laurentium Medicen una cum Nicolao (Nicolò) et Carolo (Marsupini) frequentare persæpe solitum omnium scelerum officinam, infames ædes Hieronymi, per id temporis quo sicarius est conductus. Idemque Laurentius Medices Hieronymum conjectum ob id sceleris in vincula, carcere liberavit, et ab omni pœnâ tutatus est, in maximâ etiam totius civitatis offensione. ——— Sed vis magnitudoque pecuniæ longè plus potuit, quam leges, quam æquitas, vel sanctitas, vel decorum."

sent him to Naples, he entered into commerce, and was so successful as to be able to advance very frequently loans to the great King Roberto.—Niccolò had the advantage of a very fine and graceful figure, and had also along with it great talents, great ideas, and great ambition. He was more anxious to distinguish himself at Court than in business, and he had the good fortune to make an impression on the sister-in-law of the Neapolitan Monarch, the widow of the Prince of Tarentum, improperly called the Empress of Constantinople.—The handsome Florentine gained an unbounded influence over this galant Princess (*g*), and she not only trusted to him the general management of her affairs, but confided to him the education of her son, and the whole government of her little dominions.—The post was filled with ability, and the young Ludovico, Prince of Tarentum, was so much pleased with his preceptor's conduct, that Acciajuoli became also his principal confidant and favourite.

Queen Giovanna, the daughter and heiress of Roberto, had married Andrea Prince of Hungary, whom she afterwards detested.—From the contrast of Ludovico, a person of uncommon beauty, with Andrea, Giovanna's aversion to her husband became every day more violent, and the Empress the Queen's aunt, with her friend Acciajuoli, left nothing undone to determine her passion for galantry

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(*g*) Villani observes of her, "Di suo corpo non aveva buona fama."

lantry in favour of Prince Ludovico.—Having corrupted the infamous Catanian, her confidant, they soon succeeded in their views.—The unfortunate Andrea was strangled by a cord twisted by his own wife's hands, and Ludovico immediately married her.

On the receipt of this intelligence the King of Hungary marched with a formidable army to revenge his brother's shameful death.—Ludovico, with his bride, by the advice of Acciajuoli, avoided the storm, and took refuge at Avignon.—Through the Florentine's intrigues and address the Pope received them very graciously, and allowed them the matrimonial dispensation of which they stood so much in need.

During these events the plague raged at Naples, which forced the King of Hungary to quit it, and as the Neapolitans were greatly attached to their culpable Sovereign, and hated likewise the Hungarians, they invited her to return with Ludovico her husband.—Acciajuoli was previously sent to explore the situation of things, and to take the necessary steps for the re-establishment of the Government. No opportunity was lost of cultivating the friendship of the Queen's partisans, and strengthening her interests, and as soon as he saw the moment favourable he pressed them to set out on their return.—They were received with every mark of joy at Naples, and the Queen on her arrival showered down rewards and favours on those who had given her proofs of their fidelity during her absence.—Acciajuoli had the office of Grand-Sénéchal, and nearly the whole sovereign authority of the country, which in fact he merited for his important services. Yet there were afterwards others as important, for which his master owed him the same obligations.—A peace was procured with Hungary, and Acciajuoli might with justice boast, not only of having placed the Crown of Naples on Ludovico's head by his marriage with his cousin-german, but of having supported him in the fluctuation of his fortune, and protected him by his resolution and address against the King of Hungary, who had been so justly exasperated with him.—Angelo Acciajuoli, the Bishop of Florence, was the brother of the Sénéchal.—The flatterers of the family have supposed the Acciajuoli to have descended from Justin, the nephew of the Emperor Justinian.—Originally of Brescia, they probably derived their name from their commerce in steel, ACCIAJO, in which they had embarked; and in all likelihood the fable also of their Imperial blood arose from their having been for near a century in possession of a beautiful principality (*h*) in Greece, which they lost when the Turks completed their conquest of that country.

In

(*h*) "Azarola domus multis ditata tropæis,
Nam tibi Cecropiæ parent Tritonidos arces;
Tu regis anguigenas Mavortia mœnia Thebas;
Tu quicquid veteres olim tenuêre Pelasgi,
Imperio cohibes; tibi dives Apulia magni
Tutelam regni et summum mandavit honorem."
Ex Elegiâ Christoph. Landini.

In the thirteenth century the Latins seized the throne of Constantinople, and Athens, Megara, Stiva, and Delphi formed a little sovereignty, which either by lapse of time or different revolutions had fallen from the House of Villehardouin into that of the Acciajuoli.—Towards the year 1450, Maurizio Acciajuoli, Prince of Athens, died, and left an only son very young under the guardianship of his widow and his brother's son Franco. Though Franco had no pretensions whatever to the Athenian sceptre, he was greatly dissatisfied with the whole authority being vested in the hands of a female. The Princess Regent, however, governed with great apparent wisdom, and her subjects had universally respected her till a noble Venetian of the name of Palmerio and a son of the Podesta of Nauplia was sent by his father on a commercial errand to Athens.—He saw the Regent, became enamoured with her, and his passion was returned.—An obstacle apparently insurmountable opposed their union.—Palmerio was married at Venice, but he had the iniquity to return to his country and poison his wife. After the commission of this crime he hurried back to Athens stained with his guilt, and as a reward for it, the Princess gave him her hand and government, which she had only received in trust for her son.—This double breach of duty, at which the Athenians were highly irritated, Franco conceived to be a favourable pretext to seize his cousin's heritage; a party was formed with great ease amongst the people, he obtained with still greater ease the investiture from Mahomet the IId, who saw with secret pleasure the seeds of discord ripening so fast.—The Regent was arrested together with her son, they were both conducted to Megara, and soon afterwards put to death by the usurper's orders.—Palmerio the husband of the Princess had fled to Constantinople, where he was loud in his complaints against the attack upon his government. Mahomet was politician sufficient to see the advantage of listening to his representations, and the Grand Visier marched against the murtherer of the Regent and her son.—Franco Acciajuoli fell in the defence of the dominions he had usurped, and they were added with little difficulty or resistance to the Ottoman Empire.

In the Conclave previous to the election of Pignatelli or Innocent the XIIth in 1690, the Cardinal Niccolò Acciajuoli had a glimpse of the Pontifical Chair.—His character for ability, magnificence, and generosity was established, and he owed his exclusion solely to his nephew, whose irregularities and indiscretions were considered by the Electors as too glaring and notorious for a Cardinal patron.

The expulsion of the last Cardinal Acciajuoli from Lisbon was the prelude to that of the Jesuits.—Baretti, the Piedmontese traveller found him provisionally settled at Badajoz, where he was waiting the orders of the Court of Rome to regulate his future conduct.—He died soon afterwards at the Vineyard, his beautiful country residence near Florence.—Angelo Politiano dedicated his Silva with the title of Manto to Lorenzo de' Medici the son of Pietro Francesco and Lodomina Acciajuoli, and he mentions in strong terms his generosity, and alludes to his talents in Italian verse (*a*).—This Lorenzo de' Medici was sent in 1483 ambassador to Charles the VIIIth, who had succeeded Louis the XIth. An unfortunate difference had arisen at an entertainment between Lorenzo his brother and Piero the son of the Great Lorenzo, and they had been wanting in some proper respect to him.—Piero had determined to sacrifice them to his injured honour, but the magistrates interceded in their behalf, and he was at last satisfied with banishing them to their country residence.—On the arrival of Charles the VIIIth in Italy, they declared openly against Piero, and preferring the gratification of their resentment to the interests of their family, they quitted their country residence to which they had been banished, and joined the French Monarch at Placentia.—When Piero was driven out of Florence, Lorenzo and his brother, to mark more decidedly their detestation of tyranny, substituted the arms of

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(*a*) "Ferreus sim si quid tibi denegem tam nobili adolescenti, tam probo, tam mei amanti, tanto denique hanc editionem studio efflagitanti. Quare habe tibi quicquid hoc libelli, ac tu quoque desiderio nostro aliquando subveni, et quæ tibi musæ amatoria carmina vernaculè suggerunt, ne patere quæso, à nobis expectari diutius. 1482."

of the Republic for their own, and exchanged their name for that of Popolani.—This alteration, however, did not continue; Fortune and the Muses had decreed that the name of Medici should not be forgotten or be lost.

Lorenzo de' Medici left by his consort Semiramis d'Appiano two sons, Pietro Francesco and Everardo.—Pombino, a city built on the ruins of the ancient Populonia, in the territory of Sienna on the Coast of Tuscany, after having formerly made a part of the state of Pisa, fell at the end of the fourteenth century under the power of the House of Appiano.—The Family then took the title of Prince, and it continued to belong to it till the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the reigning Prince dying without male issue, the Emperor Ferdinand the IId ceded the principality to Philip the IIId King of Spain.

Giovanni, or, as he is called by some, Giordano de' Medici the brother of Lorenzo just mentioned, was the second husband of the famous heroine Caterina Sforza the natural daughter of Galeazzo Sforza Duke of Milan. She had married to a former husband Geronimo Riario, a relation of Pope Sixtus the IVth, Lord of Imola and Forli, and one of the chiefs of the Pazzi conspiracy.—Geronimo having been put to death by the citizens of Forli, they took possession of the city and made Caterina and her children prisoners, but they found their error in not having seized the citadel.—Caterina engaged if they would give her leave to go into it she would undertake for its surrender, and she proposed to leave her children as hostages in their hands.—She was no sooner safe within the walls, then she reproached them in the most outrageous manner with their treason, and told them they might act as they pleased respecting her children, for she was young enough with her endeavours, which should not be wanting, to have another family (*b*).—The conspirators, astonished by her menaces and resolution, were too late aware of the error they had committed from an excess of folly or credulity, and they saved themselves by an immediate flight.

Machiavel, in his description of the citadel of Forli in his last book on the Art of War (*c*), informs us that it contained a chain of posts to which the garrison might regularly retire. There was at first the citadel, and afterwards an interior fortification separated by an immense ditch,

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(*b*) "Per mostrare che di suoi figluoli non si curava, mostrò loro le • • • • • •, dicendo che aveva ancora il modo a rifarne."—I have omitted for reasons which I need not mention an indecent passage, I have slided gently over another, and I flatter myself the MODEST chasm that I have introduced into the note is unexceptionable.

(*c*) "Era tutta quella fortezza piena di luoghi da ritirarsi dall' uno nell' altro. Perchè vi era prima la cittadella; da quella alla rocca era un fosso, in modo che vi si passava per uno ponte levatojo; la rocca era partita in tre parti, ed ogni parte era divisa con fossi, e con acqua dall' altra parte, e con ponti da quello luogo a quell' altro si passava." *Machiavelli, tom.* 2. 364.

ditch, to which there was no access but by a draw-bridge raised or lowered at pleasure. This interior fortification had also three divisions separated from each other by wide ditches full of water, with the same kind of bridges as a communication between them. This fortress, of which some remains are still visible, was then impregnable and the wonder of Italy.

Caterina Sforza was afterwards stripped of her dominions by Cæsar Borgia (*d*), and conducted as a prisoner to the castle of St. Angelo, but she recovered the patrimony of her children after the disgrace of this monster of iniquity, who was deprived in a single day of all that he had acquired in such a number of years by his conquests or his robberies (*e*).

Happy

(*d*) " La Contessa Caterina difese la rocca di Forli contra a Cesare Borgiâ, il quale vi aveva condutto l'esercito del Rè di Francia. ——— Perdessi questa rocca ch' era tenuta inespugnabile. ——— Fece la poca prudenza di Messer Giovanni da Casale, chi la difendeva, vergogna alla magnanima impresa della Contessa, laquale aveva avuto animo di aspettare un' esercito, il quale nè il Rè di Napoli, nè il Duca di Milano aveva aspettato. E ben chè gli suoi sforzi non avessero buono fine, nondimeno ne riportò quello onore che aveva meritata la sua virtù. Il che fù testificato da molti epigrammi in quelli tempi in sua lode fatti." *Machiavelli, tom.* 2. 364, 365.

(*e*) " Ast id omne quod hausit oppidorum,
Cæsar Borgia, Borgia ille Cæsar,
Cinædi patris impudica proles,
Mæchus ille sororis atque adulter,
Fratrum pernicies lues sepulcrum,
Montis bellua tetra Vaticani ;
Quod quinque assiduis voravit annis,

Happy is it for the world that great criminals seldom end their days in prosperity and peace!—Augustus and Cromwell are two exceptions, but of them it may be said, though they rose by crimes, they maintained the power they had usurped, by virtues or the appearances of virtues.

Giovanni de' Medici had by Caterina Sforza a son who became celebrated in history, and inherited his mother's courage.—Leo the Xth, very generously forgetting his reasons for displeasure against the younger branches of the family, patronised Pietro Francesco the eldest son of Lorenzo de' Medici and Semiramis d'Appiano, and made him in 1516 Gonfalonier of Florence.

Americo Vespucio.

Americo Vespucio the Florentine, who in 1497 undertook, under the orders of Ferdinand and Isabella the King and Queen of Castille and Arragon, his first voyage to the West, and afterwards another under their auspices, and at last one to the South by the order of Emanuel King of Portugal, wrote the history of these voyages and dedicated one of them to Pietro Francesco de' Medici.—Vespucio's merits and his talents have not been generally

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Imbutus scelere et malis rapinis,
(O lucem niveam! o Jovem facetum!
O pulcram Nemesin! o venusta fata!)
Scis quot evomuit diebus? Uno."

Sannazar.

generally known, nor had the justice done to them which they richly merited. Some have supposed him to have ungenerously robbed Christoforo Columbo of his glory, and that he owed his reputation to accident or imposition. He was the navigator, however, that discovered the Continent beyond the Line, the Brazils, and Patagonia as far as the Straits of Magellan, and who first crossed the great Pacific Ocean.—We may allow this honour to Vespucio without any impeachment or diminution of Columbo's fame. Not a single person will esteem the celebrated Genoese less, because one Quarter of the Globe has not borne his name, for in the appropriation of names to different countries it is accident that generally determines it.

Lorenzo or Lorenzino, Giuliano, Lodomina and Maddalena de' Medici.

From the marriage of Pietro Francesco de' Medici and Maria Soderini a woman of great merit, there were several children, Lorenzo or Lorenzino, Giuliano, Lodomina and Maddalena de' Medici.

Everardo, the youngest brother of Pietro Francesco de' Medici, had a share also in the favours of Leo the Xth.—In 1513 he was appointed Chief Magistrate of Florence, and on the death of the Roman Pontiff's brother Giuliano Duke of Nemours he succeeded to the office of Gonfalonier of the Church, which afterwards became hereditary in the Farnese Family until its extinction.

Military fame or glory reaped in the bloody harvest of the Field of Battle will not, to a thinking mind, stand a comparison with the milder virtues of civil life.—Of the Medici there has been little occasion to say

> "Arma Virumque cano—,"

and in their numerous descendants very few warriors have appeared.—Giovanni the son of Giovanni de' Medici and Caterina Sforza is the only one to be reckoned amongst great generals. In his youth he attached himself to Pope Leo the Xth the head of the family, and had a command in the war relative to the Dutchy of Urbino. The Pope's engagements with the Emperor induced him to enter into the Imperial service, and he signalized himself in all the wars of Lombardy, and acquired so very rapidly such a brilliant reputation that history is full of his achievements. His superior officers did not relish his proud and haughty spirit, for like the ancient "Condottieri" he served without obeying, and by his conduct gave a specimen of that independence at which his descendants afterwards arrived.

From some misunderstanding or dissatisfaction he quitted the Scarlet Scarf for the White one, and went into the French service where Francis the Ist made him the most advantageous offers.—In the correspondence of Pietro Aretino there is a letter written to him by Giovanni de' de' Medici, which is a conspicuous instance of his greatness of soul and his integrity. "I have refused," he says, "the Order of St. Michael, and I have destroyed the ample and lucrative provision made for me and my wife. "I have also requested the King to confer honours and "rewards on those who are entitled to them from the "length of their services, instead of bestowing them on "one who has only just entered into his pay (*a*)."—Giovanni displayed the same talents and exertions, and fought with the same courage under Francis the Ist's standard that he had done when in arms against him, but the wound which he received at the siege of Pavia prevented his being present in the celebrated action where the French lost every thing except their honour. "Pour comble de "malheur," says the Marshal de Montluc, "survint l'arquebusade au Seigneur Jean, lequel à la vérité entendait plus à faire la guerre que tous ceux qui estoyent auprès du Roy. Croy fermement, comme aussi font bien d'autres, que s'il se fust trouvé sain à la bataille, les "choses ne fussent pas allées si mal, comme elles allèrent."

This great event wholly changed the face of affairs.—The Imperial army soon advanced towards Rome, breathing

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(*a*) "A questo gran Signore ho rimandato l'Ordine di San Michele, e stracciato i capitoli contenenti la provisione di me, e di mia mogliera; con dire che dia cotal dignità a chi l'ha servito a longo, non a me che adeſſo commincio, e che in quanto allo stipendio consegue la mercede al merito."

ing resentment, and marking its route by blood and desolation.—Giovanni de' Medici neglected nothing that could obstruct the Duke de Bourbon in his march, or cut off his provisions and supplies; but it was written in the Book of Fate that Rome was to be sacked by the Germans!—The Modern Achilles, for so Giovanni was called, being wounded in the heel, was carried into Mantua, and it became necessary to amputate the leg.—In the words of Brantome, "On lui annonça l'arrêt et qu'il fal-" loit avoir des gens pour te tenir ferme, et lui couvrir la " face et les yeux. Il leur dit, coupez hardiment, il ne " me faut personne pour me tenir, car vingt hommes ne " me pourroient tenir, quand ils l'auroient entrepris. Par-" quoy coupez. Et lui-même prit la bougie, et la tint " tant qu'on lui coupa. Et pensant estre guéry, le mal " s'empira de pis en pis, et, venant à la mort, il dit seule-" ment ces paroles; eh comment faut-il que je meure ici " entre les emplastres? ce m'est un grand dépit (*b*)."

The preceding century had certainly seen many able Generals in Italy, but of what advantage is a General without an army?—Giovanni de' Medici died at the age only of twenty-seven, and his own corps that he commanded, which consisted of three thousand infantry, with three troops of horse, as a mark of their regard for his memory,

Death of Giovanni de' Medici.

(*b*) *Œuvres de Brantome*, tom. 4. 253.

memory, and their grief for his loss, introduced BLACK STANDARDS, and took the name of the Black Bands, which originally belonged to the Duke of Gueldres corps, destroyed at the battle of Pavia. Their reputation however did not last.—Generals are frequently the life of their armies, but Giovanni de' Medici was both the life and soul of his troops.—All the historians agree that if he had lived he would have been equal to any General whatever of the age, and his talents, which were ripening daily more and more by his experience, promised Italy the rare and splendid union of the bravery of Pescara with the stratagems of Colonna. His courage however sometimes bordered upon rashness; he saw no danger where glory was to be acquired, and from his natural and fiery impetuosity of temper, he precipitated himself into the most exposed and dangerous situations. His soldiers gave him the name of "Il Padre"—"their Father," his enemies that of "Il Gran Diavolo"—the "Great Devil," and Benedetto Varchi complimented him with an epitaph, in which his loss is supposed to endanger both Rome and Italy (*c*).—Clement the VIIth, who had no attachment to him, because he foresaw in him a dangerous

His character.

(*c*) "Dum cadis ipse, eodem tecum simul impete Roma,
Totaque cum Româ concidit Italia."

Brantome informs us, "Il mourut à Mantoue, en l'age de vingt-huit ans, l'an mille cinq-cent vingt-six (ainsi que disent les Histoires Espagnoles) estant estimé l'un des grands capitaines de toute l'Italie, et pour tel regrette. Et jugez que, s'il eust fourny ses ans selon le cours, il ne fust jamais un tel Italien car il avoit toutes les vertus d'un grand capitaine." *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 4. 254.

dangerous rival to his unworthy favourite Alessandro, would not have been sorry for his death at any other time, but it happened at a very critical period, when from the cowardice, the tardiness, or the perfidy of the Duke of Urbino, it was felt more sensibly.—Giovanni de' Medici had married Maria Salvietti, the grand-daughter by her mother Lucrezia of Lorenzo, the "Father of the "Muses," and Cosmo de' Medici the first Grand Duke of Tuscany was their only son.

Lorenzo, the son of Pietro Francesco and Maria Soderini, was born in 1514, and his father dying very young, the education of Lorenzo was confided to his mother, who had great merit. He soon distinguished himself by his genius, and made a rapid progress in his studies, but he discovered also very soon the certain indications of a vicious character, and was at once a monster and a miracle.—Mistaking the true road to glory, he was blindly bent on immortalizing himself by any means.—Like Filippo Strozzi, he made a joke of every thing human and divine—he was a prey to the blackest melancholy (*d*), and in his solitary walks he amused himself with the most gloomy reveries.

He was the first however of the Medici who had been charged with sordid avarice, and on that account he had the

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(*d*) "Quel pazzo malinconico filosofo di Lorenzino." *Vita di Cellini.*

the name of "Lorenzino," the change in its termination implying a reflection.—Others who knew him better called him more disgracefully "Lorenzaccio," or Lorenzo the dreadful.—Clement the VIIth appeared at first desirous of shewing him some friendship, but he soon provoked the Roman Pontiff's resentment, and put an effectual bar to his future favours.—The regard of the Italians for antiquities is well known, and it was discovered that many of their ancient statues had been wantonly defaced and destroyed.—Clement, who had no suspicion his relation could have been concerned in such malignity and folly, published a declaration, that the delinquent, whoever he might be, if he was discovered should be hanged. When he understood Lorenzo had been guilty of the fact his rage was violent, he called him the Disgrace of the Medici Family, and if the Cardinal Ippolito had not interceded Lorenzo would certainly have been executed.—Nothing could prevent his sentence of exile—he was banished for ever from Rome, and a price set upon his head if he should have the audacity to return.—Lorenzo, less sensible of the indignity of this sentence than the famous invective of Mario Molza of Modena, retired to Florence, and there succeeded in acquiring Alessandro's favour and esteem.—Far from any suspicion of him, though the Duke had been frequently put on his guard against him, he became his confidential friend, and the obsequious minister of his intrigues.—Lorenzo, to ingratiate himself more with him, pretended to undertake the office of a spy upon the exiles, entered into a feigned correspondence with them, and shewed him the fictitious answers.—Yet he had formed even then the project of Alessandro's assassination, and his mind being full of the enterprise, he could not help sometimes letting drop hints of it, though they were not observed or recollected till the fatal deed had been completed.—Tyrants feel very frequently the very terrors they inspire.—They go often armed, and Alessandro usually wore for his protection a breast-plate, which was one day stolen. A strict search was made for it without effect, but Lorenzo afterwards acknowledged he had taken it away, with an intention of then executing his project.—On another occasion both the Duke and his whole Court were in great danger of being crushed to death by the fall of a building, and they were only saved by the care and fidelity of Aristote, San Gallo, and Vasari, who had discovered their precarious situation.—Lorenzo also exhibited a Tragedy with the title of FIORENZA, and in the prologue he apologized on account of his youth for its defects, but promised the spectators in a little time another with which he hoped they would be fully satisfied.—Benvenuto Cellini (*e*) relates also an equi-

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(*e*) " Finito quello che mi bisognava alla sua medaglia di cera, mostrandogliela finita, le piacque assai. Era presente quel Lorenzo sopradetto. Costui stava continuamente guardando il Duca con malissimo occhio. Dissi al Duca; Signore state di buona voglia, perchè io vi darò molto più bella medaglia che io non feci a Papa Clemente, e Messer Lorenzo mi darà un bellissimo rovescio, come persona dotta e di bellissimo ingegno. A queste parole il detto Lorenzo subito rispose, dicendo, io non penso ad altro se non a darti un bel rovescio, che sia degno di Sua Eccellenza.

vocal conversation between Alessandro and Lorenzo, on the subject of a medal, in which Lorenzo darkly insinuated his intentions.

“ Having finished the medal, and shut it up in a little box, I said to his Excellency: My Lord, you shall have reason to be satisfied, for I will make you a much finer medal than that of Pope Clement. It is natural that I should succeed better in this than in the other, as it was my first essay; and Signor Lorenzo, being a person of learning and genius, will furnish me with a device for a fine reverse. Lorenzo instantly replied: That is the very thing I was just thinking of, to give you the hint of a reverse worthy of his Excellency. The Duke smiled, and looking upon Lorenzo, said: You shall give him the subject of the reverse, and he will stay with us. Lorenzo thereupon answered without hesitation, I will think of it as soon as possibly I can, my intention is to produce something to surprise the world. The Duke, who was sometimes inclined to think him a little foolish, and sometimes to look upon him as a coward, turned about in bed, and laughed at his braggadocios. I then took my leave without any ceremony, and left them together. The Duke, who never

“ thought

Disse il Duca, Lorenzo voi glielo darete. Presto rispose Lorenzo, ve lo farò più presto che io possi, che spero di far qualche cosa da maravigliare il mondo. Il Duca si voltolò nel letto, e si rise delle parole, che gli aveva detto. Io mi parti senz'altre cerimonie, e gli lasciai insieme soli.”

" thought I would leave him, said nothing farther: when " he was afterwards informed that I had set out for Rome, " he sent one of his servants after me, who overtook me " at Sienna, and gave me fifty gold ducats as a present " from his master, desiring me to return as soon as I possibly could, and adding from Signor Lorenzo, that he " was preparing an admirable reverse for the medal which " I had in hand (*a*)."

Flight of Lorenzo de' Medici after Alessandro's assassination.

It is unnecessary to return to the dreadful circumstances of Alessandro's assassination, after which Lorenzo was entirely confused, and seemed to have lost his recollection. He had proposed to avow the deed—to publish what he had done—to invite the citizens to resume their power—and to reap in peace and glory, the fruits of his danger and his labours; but he was seized with terror, and his fears for his personal safety became predominant. —Having fastened the door of the room in which he had left the murdered Duke, he hurried with his accomplice to ask for post horses, and under the pretence of going to a sick relation in the country he made the best of his way to Venice, where Filippo Strozzi received him with the greatest satisfaction.—The exiled party extolled the crime of which Lorenzo had been guilty to the clouds, and called him the Deliverer of his Country.—What made

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(*a*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 319—320.

made it more astonishing was that Lorenzo, in default of male issue, was Alessandro's next relation and presumptive heir.

It is not easy, when a plant draws its nourishment from a variety of roots, to distinguish precisely from what particular one it receives its principal support. The parallel is strictly true respecting human actions, and we are perpetually liable to impose on ourselves when we reduce the effect of many combined influences to that of a single and detached motive.—Lorenzo might have assassinated the Duke from the iniquity of his own heart—from a desire of effacing the ignominy of Clement's proclamation—from hatred—from heroism—from a wish to revenge on the son the injuries of his supposed father—from attachment to the memory of Ippolito—from the love of his country—or from a false enthusiasm and desire of immortality.—Whatever were his motives, whether any one of those that have been mentioned—many of them—or all of them united, a prosecution at Florence was commenced against him, and he was condemned a second time to the gallows. The sentence was declared—he was executed in effigy—part of his palace was ordered to be demolished—and the opening was called the "Traitor's "Alley," as the street in ancient Rome had been called the VICUS SCELERATUS, where Tullia drove her carriage over the dead body of her father.—Alessandro's successor offered a reward for Lorenzo's head, and the miserable wretch wandered as a vagabond from place to place.—Francis the Ist ordered him to quit his dominions—he fled to Turkey, and afterwards returned again to Venice. Benvenuto Cellini (*b*) has given an account of meeting him there.

"The day following I met Signor Lorenzo de' Medici, who took me by the hand, and received me with the greatest affection imaginable; we had known one another in Florence when I was concerned in stamping coins for Duke Alexander, and afterwards at Paris, when I was in the service of the King of France. He had resided at the house of Signor Juliano Buonaccorsi, and because he did not know where else to go for amusement, without running a considerable risk, he passed a great deal of his time at my house, in observing the

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(*b*) "Essendo in Venezia mi scontrai in Messer Lorenzo de' Medici, il quale subito mi prese per mano, colla maggiore accoglienza del mondo, perchè ci eramo conosciuti in Firenze, quando io faceva le monete del Duca Lessandro, e dipoi in Parigi, quando io era al servizio del Rè; egli per non aver dove andarsi a passar tempo altrove senza grandissimo suo pericolo, s'intratteneva il più del tempo in casa mia, vendendi lavorare le mie bell'opere. E, siccome io dico, per questa passata conoscenza egli mi prese per mano, e menommi in casa sua, dove era il Signore Priore degli Strozzi, fratello del Sgr. Piero; e rallegrandosi mi domandarono, quanto io voleva soprastare a Venezia, credendosi ch'io me ne volesse ritornare in Francia, a quali io dissi, ch'io mi era partito di Firenze, e che frà due o trè giorni io voleva ritornarvi a servire il mio Gran-Duca. Quando io dissi queste parole, il Signor Priore e Messer Lorenzo mi si volsono con tanta rigidità, ch'io ebbi paura grandissima, e mi dissono, Ritornar a Firenze!" *Vita di Cellini.*

"the process of the great works above-mentioned. On "account therefore of our former acquaintance, he took "me by the hand, and carried me with him to his own "house, where was Signor Priore degli Strozzi, brother "to Signor Piero: they were very merry, and asked me "how long I proposed staying at Venice, thinking that I "intended to return to France. I told them the affair "that had made me quit Florence, and added, that I "proposed returning to that city in two or three days, "to enter again into the service of my sovereign the "Grand Duke. When I had expressed myself thus, Signor Priore and Signor Lorenzo looked so sternly at me "that I was quite disconcerted (*c*)."

Assassinated at Venice by two of the late Duke's guards.

The asylum to which Lorenzo had at last retired did not ensure his life.—Nearly ten years after Alessandro's murder he was assassinated in his turn by two of the late Duke's guards (*d*).—"Ah! Braves!" cries Brantome in speaking of these assassins, "vous estes morts comme "mortels; mais vostre los vous rend immortels (*e*)."—Lorenzo's

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(*c*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 2. 224—225.

(*d*) "Il fut tué par deux determinez soldats de Vollerie, ou il y en a toujours de bous: l'un s'appelloit Bedo, qui avoit esté de la garde du dit Alexandre, et l'autre Cecchin de Bibonna. Et ainsi ils vengerent la mort de leur maistre, volontairement, de leur propre gré et mouvement, sans avoir voulu prendre n'y boucher tant soit peu le salaire de sept mille escus, ordonnez par le Senat à ceux qui tueroient ce parricide, et en vengeroient la mort." *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 4. 256.

(*e*) *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 4. 256.

Lorenzo's murder was neither punished nor revenged; the two guards continued to reside in the Venetian States, and the Senate would not suffer any prosecution to be commenced against them from their fears or respect for the Emperor whose natural daughter Alessandro had married.—One single noble had alone the courage to reproach his colleagues with their culpable partiality, and they blushed with confusion when he asked them, "whether in all their councils they were for ever to fix their " eyes upon the Emperor—if he was to be their perpetual " master, and they were only to be his servants or his " slaves?"—As he continued his speech, he observed, "that even when a fortress was to be constructed or de" molished, an alliance to be concluded, or a treaty bro" ken, the public interest was not to be consulted, but " only his Imperial Majesty's inclinations—that he wished " their pusillanimity could have been confined within " their own walls and their secret council, but they had " given a notorious example of it to the whole world— " that Lorenzo de' Medici their guest had been assassinat" ed in the most shameful and barbarous manner, in open " day, and in one of the most public streets—that every " private citizen was shocked at the transaction, and the " rocks and shores of the Adriatic echoed with the repeti" tion of their guilt—that the assassins were all well " known, and the Senate had the timidity to pretend its " ignorance of them, and durst not order a prosecution " from the fears of the Emperor's displeasure—that the "ancient and fundamental laws of the city, which had "till then been preserved inviolate and afforded an asylum to every person who fled to it, had been infringed "with a cowardice and criminality without excuse and "without example"—and he concluded with the bold apostrophe "Base and degenerate sons of your generous "ancestors, ye stand unconcerned spectators, when you "ought to revenge the murther of a Great Man, who "did not value either his fortune or his life when the liberty of his country was in danger (*f*)."

Lorenzo

(*f*) "Noi in ciascuno affare di questa città riguardiamo all' Imperadore, non come ad amico, o a compagno, ma a maëstro e signore; anzi più, perchè i discepoli e i servidori i commandamenti de' loro superiori attendono, e noi quelli dell' Imperadore c'indoviniamo: ed in ciascuna nostra deliberazione la principal considerazione, e la prima è, di non far cosa, che a sua Cesarea Maëstà dispiaccia; e se noi trattiamo di afforzare alcuna delle nostre città, e se noi consultiamo d'impedire le leghe altrui, o se di fare le nostre, non se ciò a noi sia utile, ma se a sua Maëstà fia a grado, attendiamo. Nè questo nostro timore, e la paura che noi habbiamo, è solo a noi manifesta, nè solamente ne' nostri segreti consigli apparisce, ma eziandio nelle azioni pubbliche e palesi dimostriamo noi poco ardire, e poco franca sicurtà, siccome nella morte di Lorenzo de' Medici si è conosciuto, il quale in grembo di questa Republica, di mezzo giorno, veggenti noi, è stato ucciso e tagliato a pezzi; e niuno è frà tanto e si vario e si confuso populo, così barbaro e così nelle sue private faccende occupato, ed immerso, a cui non dico, non ne dolga forte, perocchè di si fiero accidente non gli uomini soli di questa città umanissima, ma le tempeste e gli scogli di questi mari sentono pietà, e duolo incomparabile; ma dico che niuno è frà tanta moltitudine e si diversa, che i nomi de malfattori non abbia molto volte udici, e che non gli sappia, e che non gli gridi, e che non gli scriva in diverse parti del mondo. E noi soli, Serenissimo Principe, noi soli, Eccellentissimi Signori, fingiamo di non gli sapere, nè contro di loro siamo arditi di procedere in alcun modo, temendo non ciò possa l'animo di sua Cesarea Maëstà offendere; e quel dolce costume, che la nostra Patria fino alla sua puerizia, e dalle fasce ha servato sempre di essere ricevitrice e vendicatrice d'ognuno, quantunque d'infima condizione, solo chè a lei ricorra, per terma dell' Imperadore interrompiamo ora in lui, che la libertà della sua patria, più che la vita, più che se stesso amò." *Prose Fiorentine.*

Lorenzo had written an apology for his conduct, which is still preserved in the Riccardi Palace at Florence.

Doubts on the subject of Michelagnolo's statue of Brutus.

The Public is no stranger to Michelagnolo's unfinished bust of Brutus in the Florentine Gallery, with the inscription

> " Dum Bruti effigiem sculptor de marmore fingit,
> In mentem sceleris venit et abstinuit."

Yet the general idea on the subject may possibly be dubious. It is rather to be supposed it had been begun in honour of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Modern Brutus as the Florentine exiles termed him; and that the artist, from a change of circumstances or his own situation, was under the necessity of leaving it incomplete.—Michelagnolo had, it is well known, a passionate attachment for the liberties of his country, and his whole conduct during the siege of Florence was a proof of it. When they proposed to pull down the Medici Palace, he advised its immediate destruction, and the materials to be employed on the works in the Horse-Market. After the capitulation Clement insisted on his continuing his labours in Florence, but he seized the first opportunity of abjuring his conquered country (*g*), and all the solicitations of the first Grand Duke could not prevail on him to return to it.

Lorenzo's

(*g*) " Innanzi ch'io mi partissi per andare a Roma, mi disse il Duca; Benvenuto, Lorenzo's crime excluded for ever his brothers and sisters from their native city, and they formed connections and settled under other governments.—At the battle of Marciano, where Pietro Strozzi was worsted by the Marquis de Marignan, Giuliano de' Medici was near being made a prisoner, and falling into the hands of Alessandro's successor, who gave no quarter to the exiles.—He took refuge afterwards in France, went into the Church, and became in rotation Bishop of Beziers and Alby, Archbishop of Aix, and Abbé of St. Victor at Marseilles, where he died in 1588.

When Alessandro's assassin took refuge in the State of Venice with Filippo Strozzi, alliances were contracted between Lorenzo's two sisters and two of Filippo Strozzi's sons. The eldest sister Lodomina de' Medici, who had both great beauty and great virtue, became the wife of the celebrated Marshal of France Pietro Strozzi, and from

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se tu scrivi al Michel-Agnolo, fategli voglia di tornare a Firenze; io lo farei de Quarantotto. Cosi io gli scrissi una lettera amorevole, ed in essa gli dicevo da parte del Duca più l'un cento di quello ch'io avevo avuto la commissione; a per non fare errore, la mostrai el Duca in prima ch'io la suggellassi, e dissi a sua Eccellenza; Signore, io ho forse promessogli troppo. Ei rispose e disse, meritamente, ed egli merita più di quello che tu gli hai promesso, ed io glielo atterò davansaggio. A questa mia lettera mai Michel-Agnolo fece risposta, per la qual cosa il Duca si mostrò molto sdegnato seco. ——— Ora giunto ch'io fui a Roma, andai a trovarlo, e gli replicai quella lettera, che di Firenze io gli avevo scritto da parte del Duca. ——— Aggiunsi molte altre parole di promesse, dicendogliene da parte del Duca. Egli subito mi guardò fisso, e sogghignando disse: e voi state centento seco? &c. &c. Colle spalle basse mi volsi e partimmi." *Vita del Cellini.* "Ritor-

from this marriage Philip Strozzi descended, who was Colonel General of the French Infantry. This important appointment had been at first divided, and there was an officer with the rank on each side of the Alpes.—Dandelot, the brother of Coligny, was in possession of one, and Strozzi had the other. After Dandelot's decease Strozzi was the only Colonel, and after his death Henry the IIIrd having formally united the two offices by an edict gave the appointment with the title of Colonel General of France, and almost unlimited authority to his favourite the Duke d' Epernon.—Cardinal Richelieu afterwards suppressed it, from a wish of being All-powerful himself and subjugating the King, France, Austria, and the Reformed Religion.—The President De Thou speaks of Philip Strozzi with great respect, and reckons him a great man, distinguished by his integrity, the most undaunted bravery, and the greatest moderation, though he sometimes wanted caution, and had often too much confidence and courage.—Brantome, who had known him intimately, applauds his humanity and at the same time relates a story totally devoid of it.—" Brissac étoit bien " contraire à ce vaillant Strozzi, qui, quoiqu'il eût le vi- " sage quasi barbare, refroigné et noiraut, n'estoit gueres " rempli de cruauté, fust ou par ses mains ou par justice, " ainsi que je l'ai connu tel, et peu souvent lui ay-je vû com-

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" Ritornato a Firenze dissi al Duca di Michel-Agnolo il tutto, il quale mostrò alquanto sdegno, e poi mi disse, suo danno." *Vita di Cellini.*

“ commander à son Prévost de Camp de rigoureuses justices ; mais pourtant il en fit une, qui surpassa toutes celles que fit jamais Brissac ; car après la troisième guerre, et la troisième paix faite, que le Roy se retira à Angers, et qu'il falut que les troupes, qui estoyent en Guyenne, repassassent la rivière de Loire, le dit Mr. de Strozzi, voyant ses compagnies embarassées par trop de garces, et de putains de soldats, et ayant fait faire plusieurs bandons pour les chasser, et voyant qu'on n'en faisoit rien, ainsi qu'on les passait sur le Pont-de-Cé, il en fit jetter pour un coup de haut en bas, plus de huit-cens pauvres créatures, qui, piteusement criant à l'ayde, furent toutes noyées par trop grande cruauté, laquelle ne fut jamais trouvée belle des nobles cœurs, et mesme des Dames de la Cour, qui l'en abhorrèrent étrangement, et l'advisèrent longtems de travers. Je scay bien ce que je lui en dis longtems après, mais persuadé et pressé d'aucuns de ses mestres de camp, il fit faire le coup ; et peu s'en falut, si on n'y eût mis ordre, que force soldats, amis de leurs garces, ne s'amutinassent. ——— Dieu, bien qu'il défende ce vice de paillardise, il abhorre ce vilain genre de mort ; et possible aucunes se fussent converties, et eussent servi Dieu, comme il s'en est vû force (*a*).”

After the death of the Cardinal Henry King of Portugal,

(*a*) “ *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 7. 80.

gal, Philip Strozzi, who had inherited from his father a mortal enmity to the Spaniards, commanded a fleet in support of Antoni the Prior de Crato's interest, who had been driven out of Portugal by Philip the IId, after his election to the throne.—The flower of the French nobility embarked on board the fleet, and Strozzi had orders from Catherine de' Medici to sail directly for the Tercères, and to avoid an engagement before he arrived at that island. Strozzi, more brave than prudent, did not sufficiently attend to the judicious orders which he had received, but falling in with the enemy's squadron, engaged it almost within sight of the Tercères. The whole stress of the action lay upon the Admiral, and the rest of his fleet saw his distress without offering him the least assistance. Against such a manifest superiority it was impossible for him to defend himself, and when the Spaniards boarded him, Strozzi, having discharged the duties of an Admiral, and even those of a common sailor, fell covered with wounds.—The Nobles who were along with him, and had escaped the carnage on the Spanish attack, were reserved for a more melancholy end, as the Spanish Admiral Santa Cruz, sullied his victory by the most enormous cruelties.—Strozzi, from a grandeur of soul, or from the feeble state to which he was reduced by his wounds, did not ask for quarter, and died without uttering a single word.—The Spaniards after this victory considered themselves as the Masters of the Ocean, till the discomfiture of their "Invincible Armada," six years

afterwards,

afterwards, lowered their pride and humbled their vanity.—Brantome again mentions Philip Strozzi, and the passage deserves insertion.

"Il y en avoit la plus grande part, qui le tenoyent de "légère foi. Ils pouvoient penser à leur poste ce qui "leur plaisoit, mais ils ne lui sondèrent jamais l'ame assez "avant. Il n'étoit pas certainement bigot, hypocrite, "mangeur d'images, ni grand auditeur de messes et ser"mons; mais il croyoit très bien d'ailleurs ce qu'il falloit "croire touchant la grande créance, et outre cela il n'eût "pas voulu faire tort à autre pour tout l'or du monde. "S'il jasoit et causoit quelquefois qu'il étoit en ses go"guettes, même pour le Purgatoire et l'Enfer, il n'y fal"loit point prendre garde, car certes il croyoit l'Enfer, "mais non pas qu'il pensast et crust, disoit-il, un grand "dragon représenté par les Peintres; pour fin il disoit "force choses, dont il s'en fust bien passé, mais c'estoit "plus pour jaserie et gaudisserie que pour autres choses "de mal. —— Et voilà donc ce pauvre Seigneur mort, "aussi homme de bien qu'il en sortit jamais de sa nation, "ni de sa ville de Florence, et qui n'avoit que cela de "mauvais, qu'il estoit le plus froid ami qu'on vit onc"ques (*b*)."

Maddalena, the youngest sister of Lorenzino, married Roberto,

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(*b*) *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 7. 437—441.

Roberto, the second son of Filippo Strozzi and the artful Clarice de' Medici.—The silence of the historians on the subject of her life and actions is a presumptive proof that if she had not great virtues she was without great vices. —In public storms and tempests a life unmarked by great events is a passive testimony of its innocence, and in some seasons the " Post of Honour is strictly a PRI- " VATE STATION."

Birth of Cosmo de' Medici.

Cosmo, the son of the celebrated Giovanni de' Medici and Maria Salviati, was born at Florence in 1520, and there is the following inscription in the palace of the Duke of Salviati Corsini:—" Has inter maternas ædes " puer reptavit Cosmus, qui nunc in diadematis majestate " stabili fulcit pede Hetruriæ regnum."

He was only seven years of age when he lost his father, and during the siege of Florence his mother retired with him to Venice, to avoid the animosity of the Florentine citizens, who seemed to have sworn destruction to the Medici.—Under the government of Alessandro, the private life of Cosmo and his application to his studies prevented his being obnoxious to any party.—When Alessandro was assassinated Cosmo had not reached his eighteenth year.—Cardinal Cibo, and the other ministers, seeing nothing of the Duke, and ignorant of his fate, were undetermined how to act. Every moment increased their apprehension and uneasiness, but they came to a resolution of securing the troops of the state; they gave the necessary orders to Vitelli the commandant, and took every precaution that appeared eligible or necessary.—Lorenzino, before he made his escape, had given directions to the Steward of his Household to announce what he had done to the people, but few persons gave credit to the report. Fearful it might be either a stratagem of the Duke, or some malignant purpose of Lorenzino, they suspended their feelings and preserved silence. The principal citizens were to be consulted, and in a council on the measures to be taken if the Duke was not to be found, with great prudence they came to the resolution "THAT THEY WOULD FIRST INQUIRE AND THEN DELIBERATE."

The murther being at last declared, young Cosmo, who was at a country residence, hastened back to Florence, though he studiously concealed his anxious wishes of being called to the succession.—Cardinal Cibo, whose projects had miscarried, and who had now no further hopes of placing Alessandro's natural son at the head of the Government, turned his attention towards Cosmo, and gave him the most flattering reception.—The Council of Forty-Eight was assembled the next day, which had no influence or authority under the late Duke; on his death it resumed its office, and was now to dispose of the sovereignty of Florence. Most of its members had a strong attachment or partiality for the cause of Freedom; but Vettori and Guicciardini, two of the principal persons amongst them, detested a popular form of Government, and wished to see a Sovereign with a limited authority.—Almanno Salviati, the uncle of Cosmo de' Medici, espoused his nephew's interest.—Alessandro Vitelli had the same attachments, exclusive of his motives of revenge for the tragical end of his father, who had been beheaded by the Republican party on very slight suspicions.—Vitelli was the commandant, and took possession of the approaches to the palace with his troops.

Cosmo's mother, however, alarmed at the dreadful fate of the last Duke, conjured her son with tears not to rush on certain destruction.—Ambition is a powerful stimulant on the youthful mind, and Cosmo, without listening for a moment to his mother's fears and suggestions, with glory only before his eyes, anticipated the fortune which lay before him.—A great number of citizens in the Council had already expressed their sentiments in favour of Liberty, when the Cardinal Cibo rose and shewed them if they took that step they would voluntarily draw down upon themselves the Imperial arms, and without giving them any time for reflection proposed Cosmo de' Medici as their new Sovereign.—The Assembly paused—began to argue with coolness on the proposition—but Vettori and Guicciardini voting for it, their influence was decisive, and the rest of the citizens either came over to their opinion or followed their example.—Pallas Ruccellai, the nephew of the Great Lorenzo de' Medici, opposed it openly, and fearing his sentiments would not be adopted he quitted the Council.—An observation was made by a single citizen "that no time was to be lost, for the troops were not to be restrained."—The business was therefore settled as speedily as possible; and affection, interest, and fear, in conjunction, secured Cosmo de' Medici's election. He was declared Sovereign, but with a power more limited than that of his predecessor. He had only the title of Chief of the Florentine Republic, with a very moderate revenue, and a Council of Eight Citizens had the principal direction of affairs.—Cosmo accepted the conditions, and was proclaimed on the 9th of January, 1537.

Succeeds Alessandro de' Medici in the Government of Florence.

The deep Florentine politicians flattered themselves they had by their masterly manœuvres acquired all they wished; but whilst they applauded themselves in secret, one of their fellow-citizens appears to have been better versed in the Book of Destiny. His predictions were completely verified by the event.—"My honest friends," he observes, "you have mounted a youthful rider on a "fiery courser—you have given him his spurs, and put "the reins into his hands—you have conducted him into "a vast and most beautiful field, full of flowers and fruits, "and every thing to tempt his passions—and you have "desired him to confine himself within certain bounds. "—Tell me, who is there amongst you capable of stopping

" ping him if he chooses to laugh at your orders, and " proceed in defiance of them (*a*)?"

It is remarkable that the Florentines, who have always considered themselves superior to their neighbours the Venetians, whom they have stigmatized with the name of " PAPER-FACES," to denote their want of spirit and animation, have not been able, like them, to preserve their popular form of government.—Factions ruined it, whilst the Venetians have preserved theirs, and are the only Italians, perhaps the only people in the universe, who have continued for such a series of years under the same Republican system (*b*).

Cosmo,

(*a*) " Voi uomini di Firenze havete messo un giovane sopra un maraviglioso cavallo, poi gli havete messo gli sproni, e datogli la briglia in sua libertà, e messolo sopra un bellissimo campo, dove sono fiori e frutti, e moltissime dovizie ; poi gli havete detto ch'egli non passi certi contrassignati termini : hor ditemi voi, chi è quello che tener lo possa, quand'egli passar gli voglia ?" *Vita di Cellini.*

(*b*) Montesquieu, who had deeply reflected on every species of government, observes " le grand nombre des Nobles, dans l'Aristocratie Hereditaire, rendra le gouvernement moins violent : mais comme il y aura peu de Vertú, on tombera dans un esprit de Nonchálance, de paresse, d'abandon, qui fera que l'etat n'aura plus de force ni de ressort." (*De l'Esprit des Lois. liv.* 8. *c.* 5. *tom.* 2. 155. 4*to.* 1767.).—Whatever exceptions may be made to the first part of the maxim, in its application to the Venetian government, the truth of the latter has been amply verified.—The want of public virtue had produced that indifference, that indolence, and that total torpidity respecting the public interest or safety, which left the government without force or resource ; and it fell without a struggle even on the appearance of an enemy.—It is an awful warning, and ought not to be lost !

Conducts himself with great prudence and ability.

Cosmo, raised unexpectedly to the high rank he had obtained, with a prudence beyond his age attended to the duties of his station, and conducted himself with great ability and wisdom.—At the outset of his political career he had to struggle against great difficulties, and both his friends and enemies threw many powerful impediments in his way, and occasioned him considerable embarrassments. Even Vitelli, who had rendered him such a signal piece of service on the day of his election, took possession of the citadel, and wrote to the Emperor to inform him that for the safety of Florence he should keep it in his name, and should not give it up without his express orders.—The death of Alessandro had also given fresh life and vigour to the exiles. Filippo Strozzi, who had retired to Venice, raised troops, and many of the exiles who had settled at Rome followed the example. The Cardinals Salviati and Ridolfi, though nearly allied to Cosmo, put themselves at the head of the enterprise, the Pope Paul the IIId encouraged it, and France also fanned the flame.

Cosmo neglected nothing that was necessary for his defence—he provided every place with what it wanted; but his most essential precaution was to send an immediate Embassy to the Emperor, to solicit his confirmation of the choice of the Florentines, and to request in marriage Alessandro's widow, under the assurance of his inviolable attachment to his interest.

The day after Alessandro's assassination three thousand Spaniards and a body of Germans had landed at Genoa, and this fortunate circumstance principally secured Cosmo from the dangers which appeared to threaten him. The Cardinals, who protected the exiles, advanced with their forces into Tuscany, but they thought it expedient before they drew the sword to try the milder method of negotiation. Cosmo himself invited them to Florence—and thinking they might by that means more easily carry on their schemes, or being deceived, as they afterwards suspected, by Salviati, who had the greatest credit with them, they accepted the proposal. Cosmo de' Medici embraced them with great apparent cordiality, and received them with the ostensible ingenuous smile of a statesman grown grey in the wiles of the cabinet; but the people of Florence could not conceal their resentment, and the soldiers threatened them with the most insulting looks.—Their apprehensions increased when they learned that a body of the Imperialists had disembarked.—Cosmo offered to stop the march of these reinforcements if the Cardinals would agree to disband their own troops, and as their enterprise had failed they came into the proposed conditions.—Salviati afterwards endeavoured to engage his nephew in the support of France, but without effect; and Cosmo, perceiving these Prelates secretly continued their attempts against him, hinted to them the propriety of their quitting Florence. Resistance was in vain, and they found themselves reduced to the necessity of a compliance with his wishes.

The

The dexterous mode by which the new Duke had extricated himself from his delicate situation, raised his political character, but he was not yet at the end of his embarrassments. The Cardinals and exiles in a fresh rendezvous with Filippo Strozzi, determined to renew hostilities in conjunction with the French Monarch, who promised a great deal but did nothing, and the conduct of the war was intrusted to Strozzi. Cosmo's character was not then sufficiently known to his adversaries, and they depended on the certainty of their success from the velocity of their motions. They discovered however that by a few capital errors a party in opposition to any established government is inevitably ruined. Having advanced inconsiderately to Monte Murlo at a very little distance from Florence, they were surprised, and attacked in a manner that precluded all possibility of defence. Pietro Strozzi escaped with great difficulty, and his father Filippo Strozzi, with two others of the leaders, Valori and Albizzi, were obliged to surrender. The two latter lost their heads on the scaffold, and Filippo Strozzi died, as has been previously related, a ROMAN DEATH, by his own hands.

The Emperor confirms Cosmo's election, but retains the fortresses of Pisa and Florence.

This victory strengthened Cosmo's government, but he had some differences to terminate with the Imperial Ministers, whose only aim had been to retain him in subjection for the purpose of drawing a revenue for their master's other wants and services. The Emperor indeed confirmed Cosmo's election, but whilst he even honoured him with the title of Duke, he still kept possession of the fortresses of Pisa and Florence. Cosmo was extremely anxious to recover them, and he perceived the readiest method of accomplishing what he had so much at heart was to attach himself wholly to the Emperor. Having not been able to obtain the hand of Alessandro's widow, who had accepted of Ottavio Farnese, the grandson of Paul the IIId, he took no umbrage at the refusal, again applied to the Emperor to recommend him a consort, and married Eleonora de Toledo, a daughter of the Marquis de Villa-Franca, the Neapolitan Viceroy, so famous for his inflexible severity, and his vain and repeated efforts to introduce the Inquisition into that kingdom.

After various negotiations, and a considerable length of time, the Emperor at last agreed to give up the fortresses, and though the acquisition had been attended with great expence, it redounded highly to Cosmo's honour. The Imperial yoke was fairly shaken off—Cosmo rose daily in consequence and in the public esteem—and in reality he now only began to reign. Every succeeding day produced fresh proofs of his abilities, the wisdom of his laws and ordinances, his justice, and the vigour of his administration. The superiority of Charles the Vth over his rival Francis the Ist, particularly in Italy, was visible; and the new Duke of Tuscany found he had acted wisely in his fidelity to the Imperial interest. The battle of Ceriso in 1544 had endangered the Milanese, and the implacable Pietro Strozzi, being solely desirous of employing the arms of France against Tuscany, Cosmo dispatched a body of troops in support of his ally, which soon relieved his army from their apprehensions. In the German war against the Protestants he assisted the Emperor likewise with troops and money; but in spite of all his endeavours to ensure the repose of Italy, hostilities were again soon kindled in it.

The French were continually active against the Emperor, and the war of Parma, undertaken to appearance against the Farnese, occasioned one between the other great powers. Cosmo wished sincerely for peace, from an opinion that it was requisite for his new Government; and notwithstanding the undeserved treatment he received from the Imperial Ministers, he continued to act on the system of policy he had adopted respecting their master. —France at last, from the solicitation of the Siennese exiles, determined to set the city at liberty, which after the banishment of Petrucci had fallen under the Emperor's subjection. Cosmo's address in this critical situation was remarkable. The Cardinal de Ferrara had been sent by the French Cabinet to Sienna, and passed through Florence. This Prelate was authorized to assure the Duke of the friendship of the French Monarch, if in the new troubles in Italy he would even remain neuter, and take upon himself the part of a mediator; but he could only draw from the Duke vague and ambiguous answers.

—Cosmo began to fortify the frontiers, but he acted with such caution that his measures appeared to be the result of natural prudence instead of wearing the face of hostilities. The Emperor was at this time in very unpleasant circumstances, employed in the hazardous siege of Metz; and Cosmo, uneasy at the success of his temerity, believed it was his interest to shew some little attention to the French. With this view he rendered some particular services to the Cardinal Ferrara, and secured himself by these means against any attack from Henry till the Emperor, whose support was so necessary to him, might again turn his arms towards Italy, and by a junction of his forces enable him to repulse or ruin their common enemy. Cosmo in fact could not either wish the Emperor, the Spaniards, or the French for neighbours.—Charles the Vth however was no sooner informed of the revolt of Sienna, than he ordered Pietro de Toledo to recover it. Being far advanced in years Pietro de Toledo soon died, and was succeeded in the command of the army by his son Garzia, but the fears of the Turks obliged him to return to Naples, and Cosmo saw himself alone exposed to the enemy.—At the precise period when circumspection seemed to be most necessary for him, he chose to attempt the expulsion of the French. Experience decided that it was not a vain and rash attempt, though it was attended with enormous difficulties. The Government of Milan, far from being able to assist him, could scarcely protect itself; the Spaniards were obstructed in their passage into Italy, as they were obliged to pass between Provence and the island of Corsica, of which the French had for the first time possessed themselves, and the enemy occupied almost all the "Ma-"remme" of Sienna.—The Emperor continuing his distressing war with Henry in a distant country, had consequently no troops to spare for a diversion in Italy, and Cosmo could expect no succours from his brother-in-law Don Garzia, who was kept in perpetual alarm by the Ali, the Ulugh-Chiali, and the other formidable successors of Barbarossa. The Duke of Tuscany was therefore fully sensible he must confide in his own abilities. He engaged the Pope in his interest, and he gave the command of his army to Giovanni Medicino, the Marquis de Marignan, more distinguished by his military talents than his birth.—The Duke relied on his fidelity, both from a knowledge of his ambition, and his desire of the protection of a Sovereign from whose family, owing to a slight resemblance in the name, he pretended to be descended, and whose arms from that circumstance he had adopted.

The French King opposed Pietro Strozzi to the Marquis Marignan, who opened the campaign by the surprise of a fort at the very gates of Sienna, and the war burst out at once between the Duke of Florence and the Siennese. Already was the city straitened by the Imperial troops, though provisions continued to be received into to it on the sides where the communication with the country was still open.—In many of the little skirmishes Fortune floated from one side to the other, but Cosmo repaired his little disadvantages with as much prudence as activity. After a long delay the siege was regularly undertaken, notwithstanding Strozzi's efforts to obstruct or prevent it. As he expected a reinforcement from the Grisons which he had waited for with great impatience, he marched to form a junction with it, and passed the Arno.—The Marquis de Marignan followed him, and Strozzi having effected his junction returned towards Sienna, of which his adversary renewed the siege. Strozzi did not throw himself into the city, but he harassed the enemy so much that the Marquis de Marignan was under the necessity of advancing to give him battle.—It is a received military maxim, that when two armies are in sight of each other, that which first retreats is in danger of being defeated.—France had another fatal proof of the truth of this opinion in Picardy at St. Quentin.—In Strozzi two qualities were joined, which though not often, are sometimes united—great bravery and a foolish ostentation of bravery.—He wished from the latter motive to retreat at noon-day by a plain, and without having any strong body of cavalry for his protection. He was attacked in his retreat, displayed in vain prodigies of personal valour, but his troops and the Grison auxiliaries, who were not Swiss, in particular were panic-struck and fled.—The engagement was short and resembled rather a complete rout than a battle. This important event happened on the 2nd of August 1554, and the Duke was more rejoiced at it, as the battle had been fought by his positive directions, and against the opinion of the Marquis de Marignan, who had great caution, and was not perhaps without a wish also of spinning out the war.—Cosmo was not present in the action, and it is remarkable, that however pressing the danger was, and though he was never suspected of any want of personal courage, he never left Florence to put himself at the head of his troops. In all probability he thought it imprudent to leave the seat of a government which was not more firmly established in the pursuit of the fleeting phantom of military glory, at the risk of his more precious interests.—Strozzi did not lose his courage with his defeat, but having rallied his broken troops and being joined by fresh levies, he conducted a second reinforcement and another supply of ammunition and provisions to Sienna. The garrison, animated by the resolution of the brave Montluc, who afterwards for ever blasted his laurels by his excessive cruelties in Guienne, was determined to defend itself to the last extremity, It bravely repulsed the besiegers in many assaults and escalades, and counteracted the attempts of the traitors within the walls, but famine at last reduced it to extremities. Montluc would not deign to treat himself, though he allowed the city to capitulate, which did not even then surrender to the Duke of Florence but to the Emperor.

When the French troops, worn down with hunger and fatigue, left Sienna, eight hundred citizens or rather eight hundred skeletons of citizens followed them as far as Montalcino, where they established a new republic, elected magistrates, sent them into the districts and towns of which they were yet the masters to exercise the rights of government, and preserved an image of their ancient liberty.—Whilst they amused themselves with this beautiful phantom, their fellow-citizens who had not the resolution to tear themselves from their native city were disarmed by the Imperialists, deprived of all their rights, and reduced to complete servitude.

Soon afterwards the ambition of the Cardinals Caraffa and Lorraine gave birth to fresh troubles in Italy, and the Pope pressed the French Monarch to enter into a league with him against the Emperor. They agreed to attack the King of Naples and Tuscany at the same time, and war was declared against Cosmo de' Medici on the stale pretence of restoring to the Florentines their ancient government. These hostile sparks seemed however at first only to threaten for a moment, they promised to end in smoke, and in the following year the French entered into a truce with the Spaniards.—But these appearances were deceitful.—The Cardinals Caraffa and Lorraine exerted all their abilities to revive the jealousies of the two Powers and to break the truce which they had just concluded and also ratified. Their intrigues succeeded, the war burst out again, and the Duke of Alva then Viceroy of Naples advanced towards Rome, where he spread universal consternation, at the very time that the Duke of Guise at the head of the French army alarmed Tuscany and marched towards Naples.

It is a singular fact, that all the numerous intrigues and efforts of the enemies of the Duke of Florence only served to strengthen him in his government and increase his splendor. Even the imminent danger to which he was now exposed ended wholly in his favour, and added to his authority and glory. His power, threatened with annihilation, was nearly doubled in strength by the acquisition of Sienna, which he rather ardently wished for than dared to expect.—During the siege of this city many plots of his friends had been discovered and frustrated, who intended to have delivered it up to him without the conjunction of his powerful ally. After its surrender he exhausted all his address in endeavouring to engage the Cardinal de Burgos, who commanded for the new King of Spain in Sienna, to cede it to him. Burgos, though he wanted both money and provisions, was still deaf to Cosmo's solicitations and eluded all his artifices.—Philip the IId at last in opposition to his own council, and what is more astonishing, against his own inclinations, ceded to the Duke of Tuscany the sovereignty of the Siennese states with the exception of the maritime places Orbitello, Porto-Ercolo, Telamone, Monte Argentaro, and the citadel of Piombino, which he reserved.—The circumstances attending this extraordinary transaction deserve to be related, where Cosmo's consummate political talents were more than ever necessary and more than ever distinguished him.—He overreached the Pope, as he had before overreached the French Monarch, he drew every advantage from his confidence or his credulity, from the hatred of the Spaniards, and the natural jealousies of the two nations, but Fortune was his principal friend, and it would be difficult to decide, whether his dexterity and address or his good fortune were most to be admired.—Cosmo had frequently applied for the repayment of the immense sums of money, which he had lent to the Emperor or expended in his service, and the Court of Madrid as regularly promised him a reimbursement, without taking any steps to fulfil its engagements. Odious and deceitful as this conduct was, the Duke of Florence dissembled his resentment and repeated his demands with increasing importunity. His Minister, however, at Rome, in a conversation with the Pope Caraffa, had touched on the means of appeasing the troubles in Italy, and the Roman Pontiff observed, that the only method seemed to be the cession of Sienna by general agreement to the Holy See, and he assured him that the Spanish Cabinet had given him hopes of it, which he should not lose sight of, provided his master would give him his assistance.

The Duke's envoy transmitted without delay a report of this conference, at which Cosmo was astonished.—From his astonishment, however, a ray of hope at once flashed upon his mind.—He directed the envoy to penetrate more and more into the Pope's views, and he pressed his solicitations for the repayment of the sums due to him from the Court of Madrid with redoubled assiduity. Philip had occasion for his support, and the Spanish affairs were then in such a desperate state in Italy that Cosmo's friendship or hostility was of the utmost consequence in their restoration or their ruin. He did not fail to insinuate to Philip that he was acquainted with his intentions of ceding Sienna to the Caraffa family, and he concluded by assuring him he had the business extremely at heart, that his situation would not admit of his any longer temporizing, and that he waited only for his answer to take those measures that might be most conducive to his interests.—To give greater efficacy to these representations, he pretended to enter into a negotiation with the See of Rome and France, and a report was even propagated that he had absolutely agreed on a treaty with the latter Power.—Whether Philip believed the information, or expected it every day to be confirmed, he came to the resolution of gratifying the Florentine and securing his fidelity at any expence rather than his own. A treaty was concluded, by which Cosmo and his successors received from Philip, with the exception of the presidial cities already mentioned, the state of Sienna as an Imperial fief on the terms it had been received and holden from the Emperor his father. By this arrangement the sums which Cosmo had lent Philip were liquidated, and his expences in the different wars on the Emperor's account reimbursed.

Cosmo, having solemnly taken possession of his new dominions, endeavoured by little and little to incorporate his subjects, and the Florentine privileges were allowed to the ancient Siennese families, that the inhabitants of Florence and Sienna might form only one people under the same sovereign.—Yet the love of liberty was rooted for a long time in their unconquerable souls, and it retained its influence. They had suffered with the Gascons of Montluc in its defence, but they were still capable of further sacrifices to recover their independence, and it was only by a very superior and irresistible force that they were to be reduced under the jurisdiction of a neighbouring Prince whom they detested, and submission to a rival city which they had been more than once on the point of conquering.

Republic of Lucca.

It is remarkable that amongst all the States, either more or less considerable, of which Tuscany was composed during the middle age, the feeble Republic of Lucca, so necessary to the convenience of the Medici Family, should have been the only one that invariably escaped their grasp, and was not reduced under their dominion.

minion.—From the time of Uguccione della Faggiuola and Castruccio Castracani to our days, it has constantly been enabled to embroider on its standards the glorious name of "Liberty," and still exists a wonderful but little monument of its original independency and freedom!

In the Congress of Câteau-Cambresis, after the battle of St. Quentin, the question of the disposition of the Siennese territories, then in the French possession, was included in the negotiations.—Cosmo was not ignorant that Philip had ceded to him the sovereignty of Sienna with great reluctance, and was apprehensive that he might be prevailed on by the intrigues or intercessions of the Siennese of Montalcino, or influenced by his own difficulties, to abandon his interests. His ministers had therefore directions to oppose with every argument the dismemberment of Tuscany, and the exiles in their turn implored Henry the IId to extend to them his protection. The Spaniard however considered his honour as engaged, and that he was bound to support Cosmo in the possession of the States which he had ceded to him. Under this impression he insisted on the restitution of the whole that either Strozzi or Montluc had conquered in Tuscany, and by one article of the treaty the French undertook to deliver up the little they then occupied.—The Siennese of Montalcino complained bitterly of the perfidy of the French Court—they refused to concur in or be bound by the treaty—they had recourse to every expedient to protract

tract their fate—but after all their efforts, they were constrained to yield, and the Medici triumphed.—Here then the dreadful demon of war and slaughter quitted Tuscany, and two centuries have already elapsed since this scourge of human nature has been felt in that happy country!

Conspiracy against Cosmo.

Cosmo had now reached the summit of human glory —he had to appearance firmly established his Government—he had augmented his dominions—he had nothing to fear from any foreign power—but in the treacherous moments of prosperity he was in danger, and if his usual good fortune had not saved him, he would have fallen by the hands of some of his own subjects.—A conspiracy was discovered that had been long in agitation, of which Pandolfo Pucci was the chief.—This descendant of an illustrious family, that had given three Cardinals to the Church, joined to his abilities great personal beauty and accomplishments, which had rendered him a favourite with the Grand Duke and Duchess. He had engaged Astolfo Cavalcanti to enter into a plot, and also Lorenzo de' Medici, Ricardo del Milanese, Bernardo Corbinelli, and Puccio Pucci, with some others, and had communicated their intention to the exiles. They all joined in the conspiracy, but they differed respecting the time and manner of carrying it into execution. As Cosmo's influence however increased every day, they agreed it was no longer to be deferred. Some of them were of opinion that Pandolfo Pucci should attempt to put Cosmo to death in some of his familiar visits, when they were in conversation without any other company in the palace. Others thought such a scheme was very uncertain, where Cosmo and Pandolfo were to be opposed to each other, in all likelihood equally armed, and his other friends could not afford him their assistance.—After various deliberations they resolved, as the securest and most honourable method, for the public liberty was their motive or pretext, to attempt his life by a pistol-shot as he passed on horseback through the city. The Duke, who was uncommonly vigilant, soon began to suspect there were designs against his life, and even vaguely to divine the very persons who were principally concerned in them. The conspirators, being all of them men of very loose and irregular conduct, and abandoning themselves with perfect security to every debauch, soon furnished the government with a pretence for seizing their persons.—Cavalcanti and Lorenzo de' Medici were secured and imprisoned, but from the want of sufficient evidence against them they were discharged. The rest of their accomplices staid quietly in Florence, though Cosmo's spies at Rome at last transmitted him the whole detail of the conspiracy.—The names of the persons who had embarked in it being now no longer a conjecture, but reduced to a certainty, Cavalcanti and Lorenzo de' Medici were again arrested and committed to prison.—Ricardo de Milanese and Corbinelli saved themselves by flight; Pandolfo was seized, Execution of the Conspirators.

seized, and made a full confession of all the circumstances attending the plot and his accomplices.—Lorenzo de' Medici and Cavalcanti being convicted on the depositions of Pandolfo, and their own confessions on being put to the torture, were sentenced to be beheaded.—Pandolfo was hanged.—Many others, with Francesco de' Medici, were imprisoned on suspicion, and afterwards released.—Cosmo thinking he had already provided sufficiently for his own safety, was desirous by an act of generosity which cost him nothing, to lessen the odium to which the punishment of such a number of persons of the principal families might probably expose him; he remitted a part of the sentence, and restored the forfeited property to their relations and their friends.

Pope Pius the IVth, successor of Paul the IVth, in imitation of the vanity of his brother the Marquis de Marignan, prided himself on his pretended affinity of blood with the Head of the Medici Family, shewed him every mark of favour in his power, and even proposed as it was said to create him King of Tuscany, and to confer on him by his apostolical authority the right and honour of the title. The jealousy of the Spaniards and the Princes of Italy prevented the execution of the project.—This Roman Pontiff died in 1566, and Cosmo at first thought he had suffered an irreparable loss by the death of his pretended relation, but Ghislieri, or Pius the Vth, his successor, espoused his cause with the same warmth and zeal. In the first months of his Pontificate, Cosmo shewed his attachment or inclinations to oblige him in a manner that made a powerful and lasting impression on his mind.—Previous to his exaltation Pius had been a Dominican Monk, and exercised the holy office of Inquisitor.—Though devout he had been extremely cruel, and he transported with him into the Papal Chair all the pedantry and inhumanity of his original Monkish establishment. The master of the Sacred Palace was dispatched by him to Florence, with a demand of the person of Pietro Carnesecchi, one of the Duke of Tuscany's favourites.

Cosmo de' Medici delivers up his favourite Carnesecchi to the Pope's Envoy.

When the Pope's envoy presented his master's brief, Carnesecchi was at the table with the Duke; but as he wished at any rate to please the Roman Pontiff, he satisfied himself with a shrug of his shoulders, and, without a scruple or a single thought of his friend's danger, consented to the infamous request.—Carnesecchi was conducted a prisoner to Rome, and being convicted of some connections with the Swiss Protestants, and with Vittoria Colonna in Italy, the widow of the celebrated Marquis of Pescara, and one of the most brilliant female characters that has descended to us, though suspected of what is called heresy at Rome, he was committed without pity to the flames.

At the time Cosmo de' Medici from political interests so scandalously sacrificed his friend and favourite, Venice, intimidated by the example, abandoned also to the faggot its citizen Giulio Giovannetti; and another sovereign suffered the learned Paleario to be torn from him, whom the Holy Office likewise caused to be burned, for having said "the Inquisition was a poignard to the Learned (a)."—Yet a Prince superstitiously devoted to the Church of Rome, on a similar occasion, had set them an example, and shewed them a true sense of his own dignity by overturning the pile on which one of his servants was on the point of perishing.—Galeas de St. Severin, Count of Caiazze, was also one of Charles the IXth's favourites, and had a commission of considerable rank in the French infantry. He went into Italy on some business, and on the suspicion of being a Huguenot, Pius the Vth directed him to be seized by some of the obsequious Ministers of the Holy Office.—As soon as the French King received this intelligence he dispatched the Marquis de Pisani, with positive injunctions for the release of Galeas, and his return along with him to France, as he was a French officer and a French subject. The Marquis arrived at Rome, had an interview with the Pope, and informed him of his commission. The Pontiff desired time to deliberate, but several days elapsed without any answer being given to the Marquis, and he then returned to his Holiness, pressed him to comply with the King's request, and added, that if the business was not settled in eight days to the King's satisfaction, he was ordered to take

Galeas de St. Severin, Count of Caiazze.

(a) "Inquisitionem sicam esse destrictam in jugula Litteratorum."

take such steps as would be highly disagreeable to the See of Rome. The eight days again expired without any answer, and the Marquis then demanded another audience, in which he told the Pope very firmly, that if Galeas was not set at liberty the very next day he should return to France, and the French Ambassador along with him, and his Holiness would then find all communication between France and Rome at an end, and that he would lose both the Ecclesiastical benefices and other revenues from that kingdom.—The hoary Pontiff flew into a rage, made use of the grossest expressions, called the Marquis de Pisani an " Imbriaco—or sot," though he was remarkably abstemious; but the Cardinals in general advised the release of the prisoner, and one Huguenot at least owed his life to Charles the IXth.

Cosmo de' Medici receives the title of Grand Duke from the Pope.

Almost immediately after the " Auto-da Fe" of the unfortunate Carnesecchi, the Roman Pontiff bestowed by a Bull on Cosmo and his successors, the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany (*b*).—Cosmo went to kiss the slipper of his

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(*b*) " Pius Episcopus, Servus Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Romanus Pontiſex in excelso militantis ecclesiæ trono, disponente Domino, super gentes et regna constitutus, post perlustratas suæ indefessæ mentis acie Orbis Christiani Provincias, &c. &c. &c. Quod Cosmus Medices, delatum sibi admirabiliter principatum admirabilius regat et moderetur, illumque incomparabili prudentiâ ac sapientiâ, in pacis ac justitiæ amœnitate, ab ineunte ejus ætate, diligentissimè contineat ac conservet; quod terrâ marique præpotens existat, quod piratis, facinorosis, sicariis, quietis et otii perturbatoribus, nec non nostris et hujus Sanctæ Sedis rebellibus et adversariis, hostis acerrimus, et delictorum severus vindex sit; quod numerosâ ac frequenti populorum et subditorum, Deo benedicente, multitudine, copiosis grandibusque redi-

his benefactor, who placed with his own hands a Royal Crown upon his head in presence of the Sacred College.—France under the government of a relation of the late Duke, was the first to acknowledge his title, but other Sovereigns obstinately refused their consent. The Emperor in particular pretended that the Pope had usurped the Imperial Right, and was highly incensed at the proceeding.—It was a long time before he acknowledged the Grand Duke's title, and the rest of Europe followed his example.

These kinds of concessions had rather a political tendency than a rise in the vanity of the Vatican.—In Paul the

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tibus, et amplissimis proventibus gaudeat et fruatur, quod validus peditum et equitum numerus in omnes usus ei, præsto semper esse possit; quod quamplures florentissimas urbes, tam cathedralium, quam earum nonnullas metropolitanarum ecclesiarum dignitate insignes, ac studiorum generalium universitatibus ornatas, munitissimos portus, validissimasque arces, loca tutissima, triremium classem paratam et instructam, et tam ad Thyrreni sui maris, quam etiam ad nostræ oræ maritimæ tutelam habeat: quod rerum omnium copiâ, ditionis amplitudine, locorum ubertate, continuâ vitæ felicitate, demumque gentis celebris admodum et opulentæ viribus firmissimè subnixus vigeat: quod cuncta hæc ipsa bona per immensam Dei Omnipotentis benignitatem sibi elargita, ad divinum honorem et gloriam paratissima semper fore profiteatur, quod absolutâ potestate et directo dominio Florentino præditus nemini subjiciatur, &c. &c. &c. motu proprio, non ad ipsius Cosmi Ducis seu alterius pro eo Nobis super hoc oblatæ petitionis instantiam, &c. &c. eundem Cosmum Ducem ejusque successores pro tempore existentes Duces, et perpetuis futuris temporibus, in Magnos Duces et Principes Provinciæ Etruriæ, auctoritate Apostolicâ, tenore præsentium, creamus, constituimus et declaramus, Magnorumque Ducum Etruriæ nomine, titulo et denominatione extollimus et amplificamus. Si quis ausu temerario contrariè præsumserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum, &c."

the IVth's Pontificate the Crown of Ireland was given in a very gracious bull by the Court of Rome to Mary Queen of England and her husband, though Henry the VIIIth had taken the title without its permission or authority, and Edward and Queen Mary's successors have done the same without any reference to the bull in question.

The King of Spain, with the Pope, France, and Venice, entering into a league against the Turks, they prevailed on Cosmo to become a party to it. His galleys joined the allied fleet under the command of Don John of Austria, Andrea Doria, and Michele Barbarigo, and they had a great share in the celebrated but useless victory over the infidels at Lipanto.

The Spaniards about this time taking umbrage at Alfonso of Carretto, the Marquis de Finale, took possession of his city, and this usurpation roused the fears and suspicions of many of the other Italian Princes, and in particular those of the Grand Duke, who plainly perceived the Spanish Monarch no longer looked with a favourable eye upon him. As the Spanish garrisons of the " Presidial Cities " were doubled, Cosmo thought it highly requisite to be upon his guard. He repaired with all possible expedition the fortifications on the frontiers, and he reinforced the different posts, least the storm that had fallen upon Finale might extend itself to the Siennese territories, which he knew Philip earnestly wished to recover.

cover. These precautions had the effect they were intended to produce, and the lowering clouds passed over the Grand Duke's dominions without bursting.

Cosmo's unfortunate change of conduct.

Here the public life of the Grand Duke abruptly ends! —It is a melancholy and humiliating office to observe the decline of a Great Character, and at an early hour, when the decay of the faculties and understanding, which sometimes happens at an advanced period of human life, cannot even be an excuse for it.—" The celebrated stream," a Florentine author remarks, " loses itself in the sands." —Cosmo had only completed his fiftieth year, when he changed his whole plan of life and ceased to be HIMSELF !—In peace with all the Powers of Europe, and firmly established in his government, he quitted entirely the care and management of his affairs.—Plunging into dissipation, he renounced that sober and active life to which he had hitherto accustomed himself, and passed from unexampled activity to the most lethargic indolence.—His infatuation for pleasures of every species led him into actions which disgraced him, and were totally inconsistent with that prudence for which he had been so much admired.—Eleonora de Toledo dying, Cosmo married a second wife, Camilla Martelli a Florentine, but a second marriage was not the least of his indiscretions.—They threw every thing into confusion around him, and even threatened the total ruin of the family.—Such an entire change in the habits of his life might be naturally

His Death.

naturally expected to have some influence on his constitution.—He languished under a paralytic stroke almost a year, and died on the 21st of April 1574, at the age of fifty-five years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight.

His Cruelty.

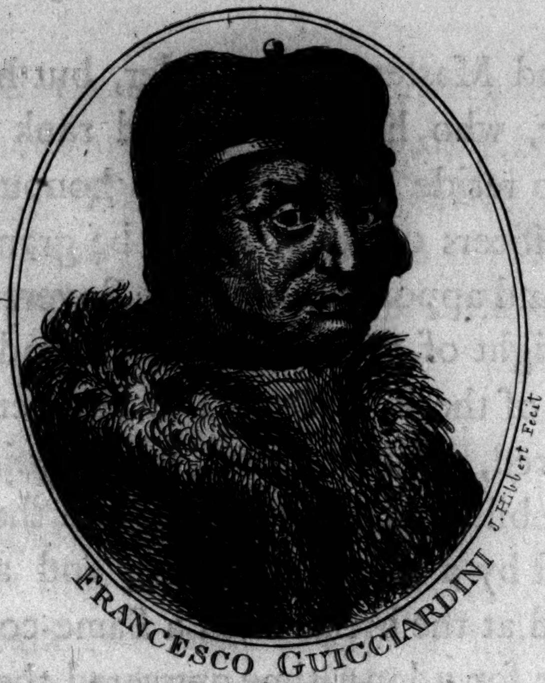
D'Aubigné has observed "On dit que l'ire est une demie folie, et je dis qu'aux Princes elle est folie entière." —Cosmo's excess of rage in the latter part of life is scarcely credible.—He put to death with his own hand two persons of rank in his own Household, one of whom had long been his favourite, and he took great pains to conceal his reasons from the public.—Almost all the historians are his panegyrists, but they have not the assurance to justify such extravagancies.—One terrible trait of his justice or cruelty will conclude these anecdotes.

Parallel between the Grand Duke and Augustus by the Italian Writers.

Parallels between Great Men are often imaginary or forced.—Plutarch, who introduced this species of biography, proceeds firmly in his route, but many of his successors have both missed their way, and led their readers into errors.—Yet on some occasions the resemblances of character, talents, and fortune are so very striking that a comparison rises spontaneously from the concurrence of the same circumstances, and the course of similar events. —Such has been the light in which Augustus and Cosmo de' Medici have appeared to many of the Italian Writers, and they have expatiated on the likeness with great plausibility and genius. Characters, however, may have a resemblance, and be still removed from each other by such a distance, that to compare them would be ridiculous.—We must be philosophers indeed, if we can so far divest ourselves of every prejudice, as to class without a smile, the Remains of the Black Bands with the Veterans of Cæsar—three thousand Men with the Thirty-nine Legions—the Council of Florence with the Roman Senate—and the Grand Duke of Tuscany with the Master of the known World.

CHAP. XIII.

KNIGHTS *of St. Stephen—Francesco Guicciardini—Observations on his History of Italy—Giovanni Battista Adriani continues it—Ludovico Guicciardini—Benedetto Varchi—Pietro Vettori—Donato Gianotti—Bartolomeo Cavalcanti—Jacopo Nardi—Giovanni Battista Cini--Filippo Nerli—Baccio Baldini—Ferdinando Ughelli—Vicenzo Borghini—Della Casa—Giovanni Battista Gelli—Grazzini—Vido Vidi—Verini and Tolomei—Lelio Taurello—Observations on the Italian Language—Primerani—Cicoguini—Landi—Vasari—Bronzino—Daniello da Volterra—Battista Naldino--Ridolfo Grillandajo—Battista Franco—Benvenuto Cellini—Baccio Baldinelli—Montorsoli--Ammarati--Bandini Rossi—Galeotti and Leone d'Arezzo—Francesco Taddi—Francesco de' Medici—Receives the Government from Cosmo who resigns it—His title of Grand Duke after a Process in the Emperor's Court admitted—Bianca Capello—Married by the Grand Duke—Her character—Francesco's death--Bianca Capello's death—Academy Della Crusca—Giovanni de' Medici, son of the first Grand Duke—His tragical death—The Grand Duke interrogates Garzia respecting the murther of his Brother, and puts him to death.*



CHAP. XIII.

IF the ancient Etruscans were formidable from their piracies to their maritime neighbours, the first Grand Duke had more laudable views, and meant to secure the coasts of Tuscany against such depredations. With this intention he created an order of knighthood like that of St. John of Jerusalem. It had the title of the Order of St. Stephen, in the memory of the victory at Marciano, the 2d of August, 1554; on which day the Church of Rome celebrates the feast of the Pope of that name.—Statutes for the government of the Knights were drawn up with his approbation, they gave the order ample privileges, and were confirmed by Pius the Vth.

Knights of St. Stephen.

Cosmo reserved to himself and his successors the dignity of Grand Master of the Order, but he nominated a Grand Prior, who held the second rank in it, and was constantly to reside at Pisa.—This honour was open to the Great Officers of State, might be granted by the special favour and appointment of the Sovereign, and claimed by the Right of "Commanderie," and consanguinity or the blood of the Founder. The number was limited to Four Hundred, celibacy was not required, but some proofs of Nobility were expected, and the Knights were distinguished by a red sattin Cross, and also by a small Cross of gold at the breast with a flame-coloured riband. —This order for a long time answered the end of the institution, and the church of St. Stephen at Pisa is full of standards of horses tails, and other trophies, taken from the Turks by these valiant champions, which have afforded Father Fontana sufficient materials for a diffusive History of the Order. It still indeed exists, but its military glory has disappeared.—Under the last of the Medici some expeditions were undertaken against the Infidels by these Knights, but since his death they have been unemployed.—The dock-yards where the Galleys so much boasted of by Chiabrera were built, have been metamorphosed into stables and barracks, and the late Emperor even demolished the few wrecks of their remaining buildings. This Monarch ought to have had some powerful reasons, which are not easy to be divined, as the Order was very rich, and the Galleys of St. Stephen contributed most certainly to the security of Tuscany as well as Italy.—If these Knights are not at present in a condition to vindicate their wrongs, they have still the power of arresting offenders on any quarrel or tumult.—They have only to say, "If you value the favour of the "Grand Duke go into custody (*a*)," and the commitment is regular and complete.

Cosmo about this time acknowledged a branch of the Athenian Family de' Medici, though it was matter of great doubt how they were related.—Perhaps he thought the antiquity of the Athenian House of Medici threw a lustre on his own, and that it might not be improper to dazzle his new subjects by a fresh proof of his illustrious origin.—Whatever might be his motives, he directed a patent for the naturalization, granted them some honourable privileges, and settled on them an annual pension of two hundred Florentine crowns of gold, and promised them his future favours (*b*).

Like

(*a*) "Per quanto stimate la grazia del Gran-Duca, andate in arresto."

(*b*) "Cosmus Medicis, Dei gratiâ Florentiæ et Senarum Dux, &c. &c. &c. Multum nobilibus et magnificis viris Francisco et Paulo de Medicis, de Athenis, consanguineis nostris dilectissimis, gratiam nostram et omne bonum. Etsi memoriæ proditum fuerat, Mediceam familiam nostram antiquissimis temporibus, quibus Balduinus, natione Gallus, et ejus Successores, Græcorum Imperio et Regno Hierosolymitano potiti, adversus Turcas, Arabes, et alios Mahometanos frequenter bella gesserunt, ob præclara ejusdem familiæ erga eosdem Imperatores et Reges, officia impensaque servitia, Athenarum Ducatum, aliaque feuda in Peloponneso, ac dignitates adeptam fuisse, atque illic longâ propagine illustres Equites edidisse, quemad-

Like the rest of the Medici he was a great patron of the arts and sciences; and amongst the Tuscans who flourished under his government, there were some of the most distinguished persons in history.

Francesco Guicciardini.

The name of Francesco Guicciardini may justly stand at the head of the list.—This First of Italian Historians was not a person who rose from the dust of the Cabinet, but had the management during his whole life of the most important and intricate concerns. The greatest part of it he had passed in the service of the two Popes of the House of Medici, and on the exaltation of the Farnese he returned to Florence. No person was more instrumental

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modum Leonis X fel. rec; qui Ferdinandum de Medicis de Athenis, cubicularium suum, Cephaloniæ et Zacynthi episcopum instituit, Clementis quoque VII Litteræ et Diplomata, ac etiam Serenissimi Venetiarum Ducis et Senatûs decreta testantur; quod tamen in hanc rem vetustissima publica monumenta et privilegia, tam Græco quam Latino alioque idiomate descripta, et testimoniis sigillisque authentica, ab Athenis et Naupliâ, quæ Neapolis Romaniæ nuncupatur, adlata exhibuistis, et documentorum seriem coram explicastis: (id quod maximi beneficii loco habuimus) consentaneum forè duximus, ut petitioni vestræ annuentes, vosque aliquo munere ornantes, gratiam referamus: Nos igitur prædictis atque aliis justis causis animum nostrum moventibus, &c. &c. utrumque vestrûm nostrâ Florentinâ Civitate, veluti germanâ patriâ, vobis quasi jure postliminii debitâ, donamus, et quorumcunque magistratuum, honorum, munerum, ac dignitatum, quibus Cives et Patricii Florentini originarii potiuntur, capaces et participes omnino fore decernimus, atque etiam annuam pensionem scutorum ducentorum auri monetæ Florentinæ, cuique vestrûm, quoad vixerit, persolvendam concedimus, &c. &c. Reliquum est, ut ampliora in dies vobis de benignitate nostrâ pollicentes, munus hoc utcumque est hilari fronte accipiatis. Datum Florentiæ in Nostris Pictanis Ædibus, Calendis Oct. Anno Dominicæ Incarn. 1567, Ducatûs Nostri Florentini 31, Senesis vero 11. Cos. Med."

Aldo Manucci, Vita di Cos. 1. Gr.-Duca.

strumental in the election of the first Grand Duke, though it has been generally believed that Guicciardini here deceived himself, and was the dupe of his own political ideas. His professed intention was to exclude a Democratic form of Government which he detested; but he had another, a more secret and a more interested view: he had flattered himself that Cosmo would marry his daughter, and that the young Sovereign, indulging in voluptuousness and luxury, would leave the whole management of the State in his hands.—Things turned out so very contrary to his expectations, that it is said he died by poison taken from his disappointment and chagrin.—To Guicciardini's immortal History of Italy few Readers can be strangers; yet it has had its critics, and been reproached with the most unpardonable partiality.—Is the imputation just?—Of Leo the Xth and Clement the VIIth, his friends and benefactors, he has spoken with truth and freedom. Respecting the Duke of Urbino it has been repeatedly observed, that Guicciardini so often contradicted himself as to be entitled to no credit in whatever he advances upon the subject. A little attention will however determine the impropriety and injustice of the assertion. On the subject of the war relative to the Dutchy of Urbino, he represents the Prince without money, without provisions, and without any support, that of his own resolution alone excepted, at the head of a handful of troops, and braving under every disadvantage the united forces of Rome and Florence. He paints him as a

Observations on his History of Italy.

Great

Great Man struggling with difficulties, and wrestling with Fortune.—The justice which the historian here does this character proves to demonstration that he took Truth for his guide in the censure of some other parts of his conduct.—It has been supposed indeed there was a little disagreement in a council of war, where Rovera was not sufficiently upon his guard, and suffered some little personalities to escape him. Yet is it possible that from a private pique Guicciardini should have been so blind to his own reputation, or have so far forgotten himself as to alter facts of public notoriety?

Observations on his History of Italy.

Claude du Verdier, Popelinière, and other French writers, have accused him very undeservedly of an animosity against the French nation, and a wish to render Charles the VIIIth odious and ridiculous.—Has Philip de Commines, his own subject, been more lavish in his praises of this little Alexander?

The reproach made by the city of Venice would be more serious if it was not totally devoid of even the appearance of truth. It relates to the celebrated harangue which the historian supposes to have fallen from Justiniani the Venetian Ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian, after the defeat at Aignadel. This speech undoubtedly not only shews that the Venetians shamefully despaired of the Republic after they had suffered a trifling loss in a very slight action, but furnishes an admission of the justice of some claims of the Empire and the House of Austria on a part of their territories (*c*).

Guicciardini reports the speech in question as authentic, and he declares very solemnly that he had not made a single alteration in it, and only translated it from the Latin in which Justiniani delivered it (*d*). All the Venetian authors who have mentioned it treat it as a forgery and calumny, which is easier to be said than proved.—A detestable though acute writer, the Cardinal Cueva, has replied to these objections not only in a plausible but convincing manner. What perhaps led to a belief of the forgery of this master-piece of meanness, was the recollection that almost all the speeches in Guicciardini are fictitious. They have also the fault of being long and tiresome.

(*c*) "Per ottener da lui con qualunque conditione la pace gli mandarono con somma celerità Ambasciatore Antonio Giustiniano; il quale ammesso in pubblica audientia al cospetto di Cesare; parlò miserabilmente, et con grandissima sommissione.———Adunque supplicando in nome del Principe, del Senato, et del popolo Vinitiano con humile divotione ti preghiamo, supplichiamo, scongiuriamo, degnisi tua Maestà riguardare con gl'occhi della misericordia le cose nostre afflitte, et medicarle con salutifero rimedio; abbraccie remo tutte le conditioni della pace, che tu ci darai, tutte le giudicheremo giuste, honeste, conformi all'equità, et alla ragione; ma forse noi siamo degni, che da noi medesimi ci tassiamo. Tornino con nostro consenso A TE VERO, ET LEGITIMO SIGNORE, TUTTE LE COSE, CHE I NOSTRI MAGGIORE TOLSERO AL SACRO IMPERIO, ET AL DUCATO D'AUSTRIA; alle quali cose perche vengano più convenientemente, aggiugniamo tutto quello, che possediamo in Terraferma; alle ragioni delle quali, in qualunque modo siano acquistate, rinunciamo." (*Guicciardini*, *lib*. 8. 222, 223.)—Such is the fate of nations that at this very hour the same proposal may be again making!

(*d*) "Transferendo solamente le parole latine in voci volgari." *Guicciardini*, *lib*. 8. 222.

tiresome. "L'auteur," Montaigne observes, "en devient "lâche et sentant le caquet scholastique (*e*)."—There is however another charge which he makes against Guicciardini, and it is of more consequence. "J'ai remarqué, "que de tant d'ames et effects qu'il juge, de tant de "mouvemens et de conseils, il n'en raporte jamais un seul "à la vertu, religion et conscience, comme si ces parties-"là estoyent du tout éteintes au monde, et de toutes les "actions, pour belles par aparence qu'elles soyent d'elles-"mêmes, il en rejecte la cause à quelque occasion vici-"euse, ou à quelque profit. Il est impossible d'imaginer "que parmy cet infini nombre d'actions, de quoy il juge, "il n'y en ait eu quelqu'une produite par la voye de la "raison. Nulle corruption ne peut avoir saisi les hommes "si universellement, que quelqu'un n'échape de la conta-"gion. Cela me fait craindre qu'il y ait un peu du vice "de son goust, et peut estre advenu, qu'il ait estimé d'au-"trui selon soi (*f*)."

The Gascon philosopher is a little declamatory in this passage, but it is very true that Guicciardini, like Machiavel, has not been in the least solicitous to inspire the love of morality or virtue. Neither of these Florentine historians can be respected as an "unctious" or sentimental author.—Guicciardini has been also reckoned in some instances

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(*e*) *Œuvres de Montaigne, livre* 2. *ch.* 10. *tom.* 2. 103. 4*to.* 1725.

(*f*) *Œuvres de Montaigne, tom.* 2. 103.

stances minute and languid.—The satirical Boccalini may have criticised him too severely, but the little war of Pisa, which occupies so much space, and is spread through eight books, is certainly too meagre in itself to appear of so much consequence amongst those great and momentous events that shook Italy almost to its centre.—A late French translator of the historian has said without reason, "que les Italiens reprochent à son Auteur d'avoir employé des expressions qui ne sont propres qu'à la Toscane, ce qu'ils apellent Fiorentinità, à l'exemple de la "Patavinité de Tite-Live."—The contrary is the fact.—The Purists of La Crusca reproach him with not having written with sufficient chastity, and with shocking their superb ears with the phrases of Lombardy, but these accusations are only the squibs of pedants.—Europe has done justice to the majestic style of Guicciardini; he sits enthroned in every library, and if he will not bear a competition with Thucydides or Tacitus, he towers far above all the modern historians.—As a statesman and a writer he was equally illustrious; and it might be difficult to decide whether he shone more in Public or Private life, unless in the words of his epitaph: "Cujus negotium an "otium gloriosius, incertum, nisi otii lumen negotii famam clariorem reddidisset."

Giovanni Battista Adriani continues it.

Guicciardini's History comes down to the year 1536, and it has been continued by Giovanni Battista Adriani, the son of the learned Marcello Virgilio Adriani, the translator of Dioscorides and the Secretary of Florence. In Adriani's continuation, judgment, truth, and accuracy are all united; and Mons^r^. de Thou both thinks Adriani had access to the Grand Duke's own memoirs (*g*), and stands much higher in the scale of reputation than his countrymen have placed him.

Ludovico Guicciardini.

Amongst the works of Ludovico Guicciardini, the nephew of Francesco Guicciardini, we have a Description of the Seventeen United Provinces, which is an excellent work, has been often re-printed and translated into different languages. To be correct he collected the materials in person, and during his residence at Brussels he had a commission from the Duke of Alva to write a work on the propriety of abolishing Lent. As it took some time the Duke desired to have a part of the manuscript, and on a perusal of it the monster frantic with rage ordered Ludovico into prison in the citadel of Antwerp, and to be chained at the foot of his statue.

Benedetto Varchi.

Benedetto Varchi, highly celebrated in Italy, has been less known in the rest of Europe.—His learning was universal, and from the goodness of his heart he was generally esteemed by the age in which he lived.—From a zealous warmth for the cause of Liberty he attached himself to the Strozzi, followed their fortunes, and partook of

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(*g*) "Ex Cosmi Hetruriæ Ducis commentariis, ut verosimile est multa hausit."

of their disgrace.—Cosmo de' Medici recalled him to Florence, and directed him to write the History of the last Troubles of his native Country. Varchi acquitted himself in a wonderful manner, and this part of his history, which includes the space of ten years, has been considered as the most valuable morsel of his work.—With a firm and steady step he strides over the ashes of a treacherous and concealed fire; and though he wrote under the immediate inspection of the Grand Duke, he handles his pen with a boldness and impartiality which do equal honour both to the Prince and the historian.—Speaking of the late Duke's assassination, "the death of "Alessandro," he says, "was no sooner known than the "exiles considered his assassin as a second Brutus. Many "writers composed poems in his praise, in which they "made very free with Alessandro's successor, and the "author of this history was one of those that signalized "themselves the most amongst them."

In purity of language Benedetto Varchi is supposed to have been Guicciardini's superior, and he has been reckoned one of the principal supports of the Italian language. In some of his works his style is notwithstanding too diffuse, and we have more words than matter, though the objection is infinitely more applicable to the Tuscan prose writers of the seventeenth century. Most of them have a striking resemblance to the "Asiatici "Oratores," full of prolixity and bombast, of whom Cicero and Quinctilian so often speak, and who amassed words without meaning, and enveloped in an immense circuit of phrases what might have been advantageously expressed in a few words. Even their familiar letters are written in a strange phraseology, in long periods which fatigue the most determined and laborious readers (*a*).—Of Varchi's epitaph Varchi was the author.

> "Varchius hic situs est, sinceri cultor amoris,
> Hoc uno egregius, cætera pœnè nihil."

There is another on his tomb, which relates with great simplicity, that he was a poet, a philosopher, and an historian—that he lived sixty-three years happily in the freedom

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(*a*) The Jesuit Venturi, under the name of Lucius Sectanus, has criticised with some truth the Writers of these times.

> "Sic jam res agitur. Sententia cognita lippis,
> E medio conlecta foro, madidâve svernâ,
> Ducitur in gyrum, quantum vix Porticus ambit,
> Pro Vaticano quæ curvat brachia Petro.
> . . . . quid denique? Post tot
> Circuitus exit, quod Roma est Tibure major.
> Quippe novum atque ingens, tanto et conamine dignum!
> Volvitur inde parem similis vesica per orbem;
> Post alia; extremo donec concludit hiatu,
> Dicebam. Superi grates! sed de aggere tanto
> Verborum, quota particula est quam tollere velles?
> . . . .
> Sic operosa dies instat noctesque labori,
> Fila trahens retrahensque et totam dissipat alvum,
> Cassibus aëriis ut captet aranea muscam."

freedom of his mind, without avarice, without ambition—and that he died without regret (*b*).

Pietro Vettori.

Pietro Vettori, a noble Florentine, well known under his Latin name of Petrus Victorius, was one of the greatest critics that Italy has yet produced. Aristotle and Cicero owe him a multitude of obligations, and it is from his industry alone that we are now able to read the Roman Orator with any satisfaction and without being stopped in every line by errors or by chasms.—What Pietro Vettori's profound sagacity began, the prudent circumspection of Gruterus, the judicious boldness of Lambinus, the happy temerity of Manutius, and the exquisite discernment of Olivet have finally completed.—Balzac has said Vettori ennobled pedantry.—Be it so.—Let us not dispute on terms, whilst we profit by his labours. Such critics are as rare as genius in any other science, and

"Sint sua præmia laudi."

Vettori published the Electra of Euripides, which had been somewhere discovered, though there have been persons who insulted or honoured him by supposing he was its author. Vettori took the useless and unnecessary

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(*b*) "Bened. Varchio, Poëtæ Philosopho atque Historico, qui cùm annos 63 summâ animi libertate, sine ullâ avaritiâ aut ambitione vixisset, obiit non invitus."

ry pains of proving his innocence of this magnificent imposture, and that the drama of which he was the editor, if less regular and less perfect than the Electra of Sophocles, and less sublimely terrible than the tragedy of Æschylus, was not less certainly the work of his illustrious rival (*c*).—Italy is also indebted to Vettori for a treatise on a very different subject—the Culture of the Olive, which is a native of Tuscany, Sclavonia, and some of the islands of the Archipelago, from its being found in all of them wild and in a state of nature.

Donato Gianotti.

Donato Gianotti had been secretary of the Florentine Republic, before the Medici became possessed of the sovereignty. This inflexible Republican, seeing his country reduced under their subjection, determined to abandon it, rather than exist in a state where he could no longer be, what he had been—Free. Cosmo offered him the most advantageous and honourable offices, to induce him to return, but all his efforts were in vain. In his youth he had applied himself to literary pursuits, as he grew up he renounced them for political employments, his voluntary exile relieved him from these embarrassments and he returned to his studies. His treatise on the Venetian Republic has been much admired, and he wrote also on that

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(*c*) "Non defuere tamen qui crederent, fabulam hanc fuisse a Victorio ex ingenio confictam; at multis adlatis rationibus ac veterum testimoniis, quam ii vehementer aberrarent, omnibus palam fecit." *Bandini.*

that of Florence and the rest of the Italian Governments, which either retained their freedom or had been free.

Bartolomeo Cavalcanti.

Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, another noble Florentine, refused also to accept of Cosmo's offers. He had great wisdom, eloquence, and judgment. Paul the IIId and his grandson Ottavio Farnese employed him with great success in many affairs of moment, and he rendered Henry the IId, King of France, the most important services during the Siennese war.—The principal monument that now remains of him is a Treatise on the best Form of a Republic.—The celebrated speech which he pronounced in complete armour, to an audience as completely armed, on the 5th of February 1528, during the siege of Florence, breathes through the whole of it the true spirit of ancient and undaunted eloquence (*d*). In the crowd of insipid orations, with which the "Prose "Fiorentine" are filled, it is almost the only one worth preservation.

Jacopo Nardi.

Jacopo Nardi, one of the exiled chiefs, employed himself on the life of his valiant fellow-citizen Francesco Ferrucci, and also on the history of his country from the year 1494 to that of 1531.

The

(*d*) " O stolti e della Fiorentina generosità ignoranti Barbari ——— pensaste voi che quelli, che l'orribil nome vostro di lungi non temerono, avessono a restar da presso vinti dalle spaventevoli grida, e dalle atroci minacce vostre? Con quali occhi essi riguardassino dalle nostre mura il fumo degli ardenti palazzi, la nuda e

The History of Florence, by Bernardo Segni, is nothing but the Gazette of the Times perfectly well written.

Giovanni Battista Cini.—Filippo Nerli.

Giovanni Battista Cini and Filippo Nerli have also some rank amongst the valuable Florentine historians.—Nerli's work has the reputation of accuracy and impartiality, and was only first published in 1728.

Baccio

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spogliata terra de vaghi giardini, prendete argomento della rovina di tanti pubblichi e privati edifizi, e di tanti ameni luoghi, laquale colle los mani, dinanzi agli occhi vostri, sicuri e lieti fecero, non più per torvi la commodità dell' usargli, o il piacer dell' distruggerli, che acciochè conosceste quanto simili cose, le quali sono da voi troppo più, che non si conviene, estimate, siano, quando il tempo lo ricerca, di chi a in se alcuna scintilla di vera virtù, disprezzate. Udinoro le vostre terribili voci, sentirono il suono delle vostre armi dispietate con quel' animo, col quale gia tante volte i corpi loro a i vostri accostando vi hanno invitati a provare il loro pungente ferro, onde o carichi d'onorate spoglie, e macchiati del vostro sangue, son ritornati, o gloriosa morte ne hanno finalmente riportato. ——— O amor della libertà, quanto sei efficace! o carità della patria quanto sei potente, che quelli effetti subitamente produci, i quali da un lungo uso, da una molta esperienza, da una certa e lunga disciplina, sogliono essere prodotti! Tu fai, che lo splendore delle non più vedute barbare armi, i nostri occhi non abbagli, che noi arditi mirar possiamo ne' i feroci aspetti rabbiosi nemici; che i maggiori disagi a noi siano piaceri grandissimi; che le più dure fatiche dilettevoli giuochi reputiamo; che nella povertà viviamo lieti, ne' i grandissimi pericoli pieni di securità. Tù infiammi i già tiepidi nostri cuori; tu armi e fortifichi i già nudi e deboli animi nostri; tu dalle più spaventevoli cose gli rendi invitti; tu le crudeli ferite, tu l'acerba morte ne fai lieti ricevere. — ——— O gloriosi della Fiorentina Città defensori, voi soli da tutti gli amici popoli e principi abbandonati, senza l'ajuto altrui, d'ogni speranza d'uman soccorso privi resistete. Ahi pigra Italia, e quando fia, chè dal lungo tuo sonno ti svegli? Ahi ingrata, che abandoni la salute di coloro, i quali insieme con quella, l'onor tuo col proprio sangue difendono! Ahi potentissima e generosissima Francia, come puoi tu si atroce spettacolo de tuoi fedelissimi amici in estremo pericolo posti oziosa riguardare," &c. &c.

Baccio Baldini

Baccio Baldini, a Florentine physician, hath given the Public a Life of the first Grand Duke.—It is rather a panegyric than a history.

The Florentine annals in general, which are so very numerous towards the middle of the sixteenth century, drop afterwards at once. Even the History of Tuscany itself is extremely poor, in some years wanting and with many chasms.

A work of the Cavaliere Settimanni, the editor of some ancient Chronicles, has been highly spoken of, though it has not been yet published. This manuscript, it is said, contains the history of Florence from 1532, when the Medici began to reign to the extinction of the family in 1737. The period is important, and such a work is still wanting in the literary world. How much is it not to be regretted that one of the ablest writers of our times, the celebrated J. J. Rousseau, did not execute the project which he had formed! He had been promised a multitude of curious manuscripts and a number of authentic documents, but the late Emperor did not approve of the design, and the materials were stopped. Many facts relative to the House of Medici and the government must have been laid before the Public, which the Hereditary Court thought it most prudent to conceal sometime longer under the mysterious veil of secrecy.—Nearly sixteen centuries have elapsed since Dion Cassius justly remarked,

marked, that from the days of Augustus it was very difficult to write the Roman History; that every thing was secret; that the dispatches from the Provinces found their way only into the impenetrable cabinets of the Emperors; and that with the exception of facts of such public notoriety as it was impossible to conceal, nothing was known but what the folly or indiscretion of these tyrants disdained to keep to themselves, or historians conjectured.—The reflection is more or less applicable to all the Florentine annals since the Florentine revolution.

Ferdinando Ughelli.

The Abbé Ferdinando Ughelli is the author of a voluminous compilation with the title of "Italia Sacra."

Vicenzo Borghini.

Vicenzo Borghini, a Benedictine Monk and a person of great learning, hath also written on the origin of Florence his native city.—The work is in great estimation.

Della Casa.

The celebrated Florentine Della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento, died at Rome in 1556.—He was the author of many works in prose and verse in Latin and in Italian, and in both languages his style is exquisite. His treatise entitled "Galateo, ovvero de Costumi" enjoyed great credit, and is at present the little manual of politeness recommended by Italian parents to their children, who are not satisfied with rude and uncouth merit, but with the late Lord Chesterfield think a sacrifice to the Graces necessary to give the last polish to the character.—It is a misfortune that La Casa should be only known to a number of Readers by his "Capitoli," which are loose and relaxed poems, the ebullition of high spirits and unguarded youth. There is a commentary on the "Oculos cum os-"culamur, animum ipsum videmur attingere" of Pliny, and one stanza of the "Capitolo del Forno" disgusts even the most indulgent and candid reader. Geneva had reason to cry out against it with generous indignation, yet Geneva ought to have recollected that in a moment of indecent playfulness or intellectual delirium the young Theodore Beza copied Catullus but too successfully.

Giovanni Battista Gelli.

Giovanni Battista Gelli, a Florentine of the lowest class of the People, had a genius far superior to his situation. He was the author of some dialogues in Italian after Lucian's manner, but with greater modesty and more discretion.

Francesco Doni was one of those fantastic writers whose original reputation is yet a problem.

Grazzini.

From Grazzini, better known under the name of Lasca, we have a collection of novels reprinted about twenty years ago in London. These tales are too long, too extravagant, and too palpable imitations of Boccacio; but they have a graceful urbanity which is pleasant. The prologues, in the author's opinion, might not be profane, yet they are both ill written and very dangerous.—

Grazzini is also well known as the editor of the Carnival Songs or Canzone Carnavalesche.

Vido Vidi.

At the request of the Grand Duke, his subject Vido Vidi returned from France, who had been first physician to the Court.—Many of his medical treatises have been translated into different languages (*a*).

Verini and Tolomei.

Verini and Tolomei were philosophers born too soon. —Ignazio Danti, in high favour with the Grand Duke, had infinitely more merit than these subtle slaves of Aristotle. But the ignorance of the middle age on the situation of distant countries was wonderful, and Danti the Perousian was the first restorer (*b*) of the science of geography amongst the Moderns.

Cosmo,

(*a*) " Con esso lui rinacque la medicina." *P. Negri.*

(*b*) " Frate Ignazio Danti, Perugino, ——— è nelle cose di Cosmografia eccellentissimo, e di raro ingegno, e tanto che il Duca Cos. di Med. gli fa condurre un opera, chè di quella professione non è stato mai per tempo nessuno fatta nè la maggiore, nè la più perfetta, e questo è, che sua Eccell. con l'ordine del Vasari, sul secondo piano delle stanze del suo Palazzo Ducale, ha di nuovo murato apposta, e aggiunto alla gardaroba una sala assai grande, e intorno a quella ha acomodato armari. ——— Questi ha nelle porte di detti armari spartito, dentro a gli ornamenti di quelli, 57 quadri, dentro a quali sono con grandissima diligenza fatte in sul legname, a uso di mini, dipinte a olio, le Tavole di Tolomeo, misurate perfettamente tutte, e ricorrette secondo gli autori novi, e con le carte giuste delle navigazioni, con somma diligenza fatte le scale loro da misurare, e i gradi; dove sono in quelle, e i nomi antichi e i moderni. E la sua divisione di questi quadri sta in questo modo. All' entrata in quattro quadri, quattro mezze palle in prospettiva. Nelle due da basso è l'universale della terra, e nelle due di sopra, l'universale del Cielo con le sue immagini e figure celesti. ——— Poi è tutta l'Europa in 14 tavole e quadri;

Lelio Taurello

Cosmo, who prided himself on the character of a great legislator, directed the civilian Lelio Taurello to undertake a new edition of the Pandects from the famous manuscript found at Amalfi by the Pisanese, which fell into the hands of the Florentines, passed into the Medici library, and is still preserved with the most religious veneration. Amongst the numerous editions (*c*) of the Pandects, that which Lelio Taurello published under the name of his son has always retained the greatest authori-

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poi è l'Africa in undeci tavole, l'Asia in 14, poi Indie Occidentali, &c. &c." *Vasari.*

" Anche dipinse nella gran Galeria Vaticana le carte geografiche, che rappresentano tutte le parti d'Italia." *Bottari.*

(*c*) " Delle molte edizioni delle Pandette, ch'oggi s'offervano, e particolarmente in quest' ultimi nostri tempi, che sono infinite, trè sono le più celebri, e ricevute nell' Academie e Tribunali d'Europa. La prima edizione, cioè la volgare, e meno corretta, è quella, della quale si valsero Accursio, e gli altri antichi glossatori. La seconda vien detta Norica, ovvero di Norimberga, ed è quella che Gregorio Aleandro nell'anno 1531 fece imprimere. La terza appellasi Florentina, ovvero Pisana, laquale da noi dëesi a Francesco Taurello, che nell'anno 1533 della Libreria de' Medici fece darla alle stampe." *Giannone*, *Stor. di Nap.*

" Subit Cujaciani desiderii recordatio, qui bis mille aureos depositurum se multoties obtulit de restituendo Pandecte, si sibi ad annum utendus commodaretur: nam, quamvis fidelissimè expressus putetur editione illâ quam Taurellus procuravit, multa tamen potuisse fugere illum et librarios, quæ proprio aspectu et libri tractatione se deprehensurum sperabat homo felicis diligentiæ; idque Thuano sæpe dixerat; et, cum Augustæ Taurinorum esset, nihil non fecerat commendatione Philiberti Ducis, et Margaritæ uxoris, ipsis etiam sponsoribus de restitutione allegatis, ut tanti voti compos evaderet; sed nihil impetrare potuerat: tantum a Cosmo responsum, si Florentiam venerit, fore ut et libro ad plenam satietatem uti posset, neque ad se accessisse ipsum pœniteret. Id unum, post exactissimam in excolendâ suâ scientiâ adhi-

ty in the different universities and tribunals of Europe, and it has ever been preferred to the celebrated edition of Nuremberg in 1531 due to the care of Gregorius Aleander, as well as the copy that Accursus used, which the ancient commentators so highly valued (*d*).

Alessandro's contempt of the Florentine idiom had given offence to his subjects—Cosmo's attachment to his maternal language led him to establish an academy, whose sole intention was to cultivate it. This academy had a variety of titles, and from the respect which is justly due to this beautiful tongue, the new academicians passed to the blindest enthusiasm, and a sect arose amongst them with the name of Araméens, with the fanatic Giambullari at their head. These grammarians even blushed at the supposition that the Italian was derived from the Latin, they carried it up to the ancient Etruscans, and wildly conceived the Latin only a corruption of the Etruscan dialect. They supposed the Etruscan to have descended from the Phenician, which they called Arimean, of which no more than fifty words exclusive

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bitam solertiam, ad animum explendum sibi defuisse, in eoque se desiderio moriturum, aiebat Cujacius." *Vita Thuani*, *L.* 1.

(*d*) The principal circumstances relating to the discovery of Justinian's Pandects, at Amalfi in the year 1135 or 1137, and their conveyance from thence to Pisa, though supported by many great authorities have been very much disputed by modern writers." (*Schomberg's Illust. of an Hist. and Chronolog. View of the Roman Laws*, 197.)—The curious Reader will find an abstract of the arguments on the subject by turning to the passage just quoted.

Observations on the Italian Language.

clusive of proper names are now in existence, and the alphabet very imperfectly known. These extravagancies have had their day, and the Italians most partial to their language at present are satisfied with terming it the eldest daughter of the Latin, though the title is disputed by the ancient Provençal dialect. Some few Italians still add

"Matre pulchrâ Filia pulchrior."

On this side the Alpes we should not readily subscribe to the opinion, but it has, notwithstanding, beauties.—Those readers who take their ideas of the language by airs and ariettes, where the poet is under the fetters of a musical tyrant, consider it as soft, effeminate, and without energy or vigour. Let the appeal be made to the great writers of both prose and verse, and the judgment will be very different. In the supposition that the Italian and Provençal are derived from the Latin, we are not to understand by it the expressions of Cicero or Sallust, but the barbarous dialect of the common people of Rome, and particularly that of the troops. These two classes of persons began very soon to mutilate the last syllables of the words they used, and from thence arose insensibly the necessity of the article and auxiliary verbs. From this corrupted species of Latin the transition to the idioms in question is not very violent.—They bespeak their origin (*e*). The

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(*e*) "Ille etiam sermo vernaculus et popularis,
Quem nos edocuit fugentes ubera nutrix

The Grand Duke's Capital was not the only city in his dominions which gave birth to an academy. The "Hu-"morosi" of Cortona have been well known, and also the society at Sienna for the cultivation of Italian poetry.—These academicians ludicrously took the name "Degli "Intronati," or in plain English, of "The Blockheads," and after the Tuscan fashion all the other Italian societies adopted either some witty or allegorical title.

Four principal authors, Primerani, Cicognini, Ambra, and Landi, divided in the Grand Duke's reign the honour of the comic, the tragi-comic, or heroic scene, as it was differently termed (*f*). A cotemporary author speaks of a piece by Primerani on the scandalous adventure of Tamar the daughter of David, and its fatal consequences. The subject was certainly an improper one.—It has been said that dullness is the greatest defect of a theatrical entertainment, but indecency is more exceptionable. Every thing is lost when the school of morals fails in modesty. With whatever degree of prudence a poet attempts to treat

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Tuscula, somniferi longa inter tædia lalli,
Ille inquam, linguæ se de matrice Latinæ
Natum ait, ut puto scis, avîâque superbit Achæâ:
Illum et abortivo tunc sudit adultera partu
Ausonia, hirsutos quum primum amplexa Galenos
Braccatosque alios, audire exotica verba et
Non intellecto didicit parere tyranno."

L. Sectani Sattyr.

(*f*) *Vasari, tom.* 2. 726.

treat an indecent subject, it is impossible he should be able to avoid indelicate situations, which will affect the whole. From a poisoned source poison must necessarily flow.—When the great Corneille introduced upon the stage the Martyrdom of Theodora, condemned by the Barbarians to public prostitution, Paris as well as the whole kingdom, was disgusted. The poet did not perceive, till he had learned it by experience, that his subject had a radical vice, against which his talents and his genius could not possibly protect it. But he will best explain his situation. “ Dans cette disgrace j'ai dequoi congratuler la pureté de notre théâtre, de voir qu'une histoire, qui fait le plus bel ornement du second Livre des Vierges de St. Ambroise, se trouve trop licencieuse pour y être suportée. Qu'eut on dit si comme ce grand Docteur de l'Eglise, j'eusse fait voir l'héroïne dans le lieu infâme, si j'eusse décrit les diverses agitations de son ame durant qu'elle y fut, et si j'eusse figuré les troubles qu'elle y ressentit? — C'est là-dessus que ce grand Saint fait triompher son éloquence, et c'est pour ce spectacle qu'il invite particulièrement les Vierges à ouvrir les yeux. Je l'ai dérobé à la vûe, et autant que j'ai pû à l'imagination de mes auditeurs; et après y avoir consumé toute mon adresse, la modestie de notre Scène a désavoué, comme indigne d'elle, ce peu que la nécessité de mon sujet m'a forcé d'en faire connaitre (g).”

(g) *Examen de Theodore. Theatre de P. Corneille, tom.* 3. 376. 8*vo.* 1776.

It is but doing justice to Voltaire in acknowledging that there is not one of his theatrical works liable to this objection. Perfectly master of the knowledge of his own closet and the world, the fire of his genius was always regulated by the correctest taste, and he never forgot his own principle, "Que les honnêtes gens assemblés "sont toujours chastes."

Primerani.

Primerani also produced upon the stage "The Inno-"cence of Joseph saved from the Snares, and afterwards "from the Calumnies of Potiphar's wife."—The subject may appear at first admissible from its resemblance to the Phædra of Racine; on a nearer examination an essential difference will be perceived. The Scripture is wholly silent on the frail and fair Egyptian's penitence; and an author who takes his scene from the Sacred Writings is pinioned down to facts.—Exclusive of this circumstance, remorse can only render such a character theatrical.—The struggles of Phædra with herself, and the horror she feels at her unnatural passion plead powerfully in her favour, and in her pangs we forget her crimes.—The wonderful efforts of the French poet should also be recollected, with the elegance, the harmony, the richness of language, and every art that he has employed upon the character.

Cicognini.

Cicognini was a comic poet who contributed greatly to the amusement of the first Grand Duke's Court.—His most celebrated drama is the "Il Principe Geloso"—or "Jealous Prince," which is full of beauties and defects.—Molière, seduced by the former, and in particular a witty scene, transported the whole comedy to the French stage under the title of "Don Garcie de Navarre, ou le Prince "jaloux," but his piece did not succeed, and injured his own dawning reputation and that of the comedians. The subject itself was not adapted for a French audience, and the copy was not equal to its original. Cicognini's plot was simple, and rapidly unfolded itself—Molière's is a confused romance almost without end.—The beautiful Italian scene, though longer than the French one corresponding with it, had likewise more life and animation.—"Don Garcie" is the only piece of Molière's which is not known by heart—it is never played, and his glory rests on a very different and more substantial basis.

Landi.

Antonio Landi in one of his comedies represented with great pomp before the Grand Duke, from an attachment to the unity of time, and dissatisfied with the customary idea of the space of twenty-four hours, comprised his plot within the rising and the setting of the sun.—The artificial orb appeared at the opening of the piece (*a*)—it rose gradually

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(*a*) "Nelle nozze che si fecero a dì 27 di Giugno l'anno 1539 ——— a principio della Commedia pareva, che si levasse il sole, e che salito in fino al mezzo dell'arco, scendesse in guîsa, che al fine della Commedia entrasse sotto, e tramontasse. Cumpositore della Commedia fu Antonio Landi, Gentiluomo Fiorentino," &c.
Vasari.

gradually above the spectators and the stage—and sunk gently down with the closing scene of the last act.—Addison, in his admirable poem, in the form of a dialogue, on the death of Cato, has indicated the same space of time, but in a happier method (*b*), and with all the charms of language.—The Florentine drama was singular in its kind.—Most of these cotemporary pieces were stolen from Plautus or borrowed from Terence, or were a near resemblance of the manners of the times in the taste of Machiavel or Bibiena. This taste prevailed longer in Florence than in the other towns of Italy, but it degenerated gradually, and imitations of the Spanish theatre, a less correct model, were substituted both on the Florentine and neighbouring stages. From this period we have only stratagems, mistakes, nocturnal adventures, reciprocal intrigues, coarse buffoonery, and vulgar wit. In the room of the Spanish " Criados and Villanos," Italy introduced

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(*b*) " The dawn is overcast, the morning lours,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
The great, th' important day, big with the fate
Of Cato and of Rome ———."
Act 1. *Sc.* 1.

" Lucius, the horsemen are return'd from viewing
The number, strength, and posture of our foes,
Who now encamp within a short hour's march.
On the high point of yon bright western tower
We ken them from afar, the setting sun
Plays on their shining arms and burnish'd helmets,
And covers all the field with gleams of fire."
Act 5. *Sc.* 4.

troduced figures and masks, which are not necessary to be described.

It is astonishing that the people of Europe, who have naturally the most vivacity, the greatest quickness of wit and repartee, and the most of pantomimical action, should have been so far behind the other nations in their comic scenes. Italy has been remarkably defective in her drama as late as even our own times; and it has been only in the eighteenth century that Nature has at last produced on the shore of the Adriatic Gulph her son Goldoni, true and simple, but as negligent as herself.

Vasari.

Of the artists who distinguished Cosmo's reign Vasari of Arezzo, an architect of the greatest eminence (*c*), is the first that should be mentioned. As a painter he was remarkable for the fecundity of his pencil, and it would be the height of injustice to adopt the severity of Augustine Carracci (*d*), and value it no more than a dauber's brush. Some beautiful pictures of this master are yet remaining, and

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(*c*) "Lasciò il Vasari gran fama di se per la vaghezza e per la perfezione delle sue fabbriche, essendo in verità stato eccellente Architetto." *Bottari.*

"Il Vasari veramente in quello che appartiene dell' architettura ha mostrato un' eccellenza maravigliosa, a un ingegno soprumano." *Bottari.*

(*d*) In the Epitaph on Christofano Gherardi, one of Vasari's scholars, Vasari was styled "ARTIS PICTORIÆ FACILE PRINCEPS:" Augustino Carracci substituted "PENITUS IGNORANS."

and some charming portraits in which the style of the Venetian school (*e*) may be plainly traced. Vasari is also known by his excellent History of Italian Artists, and the immensity of his researches, the clearness of his style, the propriety of his terms, the vivacity of expression, and the elegance of his metaphors and comparisons cannot be sufficiently admired. Count Algarotti is of opinion they could only have fallen from a profound master of the subject; and to form indeed a complete treatise on the Arts it would be only necessary to collect his scattered precepts. It was with great injustice that he was charged with an undue partiality for the Florentine school, and too much attention to the Tuscan masters. It was natural for him to be rather more diffuse on those artists with whom he was acquainted or connected; and the reproach has never been made to Ridolfi, Soprani, Vidriani, Malvazia, Zannotti, and del Pozzo, who have confined themselves to the painters of Venice, Genoa, Modena, Bologna, and Verona, their native cities.

Bronzino.

The elder Bronzino, a disciple of Pontormo, and a cotemporary

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(*e*) " E verissimo, che il Vasari ha fatti molti ritratti, ma è altresì vero, che ne' ritratti il Vasari é un altro pittore diverso da se medesimo. Il Richardson T. 3. a cart. 112, facendo menzione del ritratto di Giuliano Med. Duca di Nemours mezza figura fatta da Giorgio presso il Gran-Duca, non esagera punto dicendo:—Lo stilo somiglia quello di Tiziano e di Giorgone, &c. Questo quadro, e quello di G. Chr. che porta la croce nella Chiesa di Sta Croce sa vedere, che il Vasari era qualche volta un grand' uomo;—il che si dee intendere in fatto di pittura, perchè in architettura era grand' uomo sempre." *Bottari*.

cotemporary with the first Grand Duke, left a number of pictures from which he has the reputation of being one of the best painters of the Florentine school. He had his nephew Allori, afterwards known by the name of the younger Bronzino, for a scholar.

Daniello da Volterra.

The Tuscan Ricciarelli, celebrated under the name of Daniello da Volterra, distinguished himself exceedingly by his picture of the Descent from the Cross, which passes, after the Transfiguration of Rafaello, for the picture of the first consequence in Rome. This great composition, feeble in point of colouring, is so very transcendent in its design, and so very superior to all the other fruits of this master's pencil, that the public voice has unanimously attributed it, or at least a part of it to Michelagnolo.—Daniello de Volterra cast also the horse of bronze which was originally intended for the statue of Henry the IId at Paris, and lately served for that of Louis the XIIIth.

Battista Naldino—Ridolfo Grillandajo.

Battista Naldino and Ridolfo Grillandajo are painters of some reputation in the Florentine school.—The pictures of Jacopo Zucchi may be easily confounded with those of his master Vasari.

Battista Franco

Battista Franco, who was a long time in the service of the Grand Duke, copied Michelagnolo, and was a perfect MANNERIST. His imitation was too servile, and his pallet, though Venetian, too feeble in its colours, but as he drew correctly and with spirit, the numerous engravings from his works are greatly valued.

Benvenuto Cellini.

From the celebrated **Benvenuto Cellini** the Florentine, a goldsmith, carver, sculptor, engraver, and a statuary, and without contradiction one of the most original characters that has ever appeared, we have some interesting memoirs. They contain a multitude of anecdotes on the arts, artists, princes, and the great persons of the age for ever memorable in the annals of taste. His own adventures are not the least interesting, for he was one of Nature's most extravagant productions, and what Dante calls

"Fiorentin Spirito bizarro."

Cellini's great talents were lowered by a large proportion of folly, and it was unfortunately a mischievous and turbulent kind of folly. In every page of his memoirs he paints himself as a miscreant that ought always to have been in prison and in irons: he accuses himself of three or four assassinations, and relates with great phlegm and composure that he had been more than once sentenced to the gallows.—Cellini boasts also of very signal service at the siege of the Castle of St. Angelo, and enters into some very curious details on the subject (*f*). Clement the VIIth,

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(*f*) "Inginocchiatomi pregai lo Papa, che mi ribenedisse degli omicidi, ch'io

VIIth, Francis the Ist, Alessandro, and Cosmo, all employed him in succession. The Perseus in Bronze, in one of the public squares in Florence, is his most capital production, and we cannot refuse him the character of a Great Man in little things.—Cellini's most formidable rival in the Grand Duke's Court was the Cavaliere Baccio Bandinelli, who, without being a Donatello or Buonaroti, occupied a very respectable rank in the second class of sculptors.—The hours and days which Michelagnolo devoted to study, Bandinelli lavished in pleasure or employed in visits; and from the latter circumstance he had more commissions for his works than any other artist, though his reputation suffered from his indolence. This negligence was more inexcusable, for he was more indebted to his studies and his industry in his youth than to Nature. Yet he conceived himself to have been the Favourite Child of this indulgent Mother; and in one of his letters he tells, with a ridiculous ostentation, "of the "wonderful talents with which Providence had blessed "him in more abundance than any other person, for the "honour

Baccio Bandinelli.

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avevo fatti in quel Castello in servizio della Chiesa. Allaqual cosa il Papa alzato le mani, e fattomi un potente crocione sopra la mia figura, mi disse, che mi benediva, e che mi perdonava tutti gli omicidi, che io avevo fatimai, e quelli che mai farei in servizio della Chiesa Apostolica. Partitomi me n'andai sù, e sollecitando non restavo mai di tirare, e quasi mai andava colpo vano; il mio disegnare, e gli mia belli studi, e la mia bellezza di sonare e di musica, tutte erano in isparare di quelle artiglerie: e s'io avessi a dire particolarmente le belle cose, che in quella infernalità crudele io feci, farei maravigliare il mondo." *Vita di Cellini.*

“ honour of the age, his sovereign, and his country (*g*).” —The jealousy and hatred of these two rival artists appeared outrageous—their competition for honour and emolument rendered them furious—every day afforded the most absurd disputes between them—and they disgraced themselves and their profession.—Cellini poured on Bandinelli the most virulent abuse, as may be collected from his memoirs.

Bandinelli's famous group of Hercules and Cacus was eclipsed by the superior beauties of one of Michelagnolo's master-pieces which unfortunately was placed too near it, but the enormous defects are not perceptible which his envious antagonist pretended to discover. Another celebrated group of Bandinelli is that of our First Parents; both the figures have great dignity, but by a singular mistake the figure of Eve is taller than that of Adam.—Bandinelli restored also a part of the right arm of the Laocoon, which it wanted. However ably the Florentine may have succeeded, he seems not to have exactly seized and attended to the turn of the original arm.—An ancient Cornelian that belonged to the French King, of which there is a print by Mons^{r}. Mariette, has given the exact position as the group came from the Rhodian workshop,

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(*g*) “ La virtu che Iddio m'ha dato in onore del secolo, dell' Ill. Sign. Duca, e della patria, con più eccellenzia, che mal abbia fatto.”

Lettere concern. le trè belle Art. T. 1.

workshop, and it is materially different.—Bandinelli copied this group, and his copy may be seen in the Florentine Gallery. It is beautiful undoubtedly, but it does not equal the original, and not a single person hath been yet such a dupe of Bandinelli's vanity, as to entertain his erroneous ideas.

Montorsoli, Ammanati, Bandini, and Rossi.

Montorsoli, Ammanati, Bandini, and Rossi were all his scholars, and they did their master and themselves great credit.—Montorsoli restored the left arm of the Apollo of the Belvidere, and constructed the Mausoleum of Sannazario at Naples, of which it may be said, that it is rich both in merits and defects (*a*).

Ammanati was far from being a sculptor without reputation, but his talents for architecture were more remarkable.—The Arno has four bridges, which connect the two separate parts of Florence, and the bridge of the Trinity has been most admired. Cosmo built it after a plan by Ammanati, when the great inundation in 1557 had swept the old bridge away; and it is a most beautiful

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(*a*) " Non vi ha dubbio, che l'opera è bellissima, quanto all' artifizio della scoltura, parendo fatta di marmo, ma d'avorio, anzi più tosto di carne; ma quanto al pensiero è veramente strano, e poco religioso, parendo piùtosto un sepolcro d'un gentile: e questo anche disdice più, per esser quasi attaccato all' altar maggiore, al quale il sepolcro resta di dietro immediatamente, come se fosse la tavola di quel altare. E poi non fà bella lega quel'Apollo e quella Minerva con San Jacopo e San Nazaro, e questi Santi col bassorilievo d'un Baccanale." *Bottari*.

ful structure, with a lightness and a boldness that are astonishing.—The famous Colossus of stone, which represents the Apennine and is to be seen in the neighbourhood of Florence, was also designed by Ammanati, and not by Giovanni de Bologna as has been repeatedly believed. This colossal statue, which is about sixty feet in height, would have been still but a pigmy in comparison of one that Michelagnolo had intended to erect. Condivi relates that his hero had been at the quarries of Carrara to choose some blocks of marble, and that he proposed to erect a figure that might have served as a mark to seamen and navigators. He found the Ancients had a similar idea, and he regretted during the remainder of his life that he had not executed this gigantic project.—Ammanati married Madonna Laura Battiferri celebrated for her talents and her genius.

Giovanni Bandini or Giovanni dell' Opera was also an able sculptor.

Florence possesses from the chisel of Vicenzo Rossi seven beautiful groups, representing as many labours of Hercules, which still ornament the old palace.

Galeotti and Leone d'Arezzo.

Galeotti and Leone d'Arezzo were two excellent medalists, who consecrated their talents to the services of the Grand Duke and Emperor. The cabinets of the connoisseurs contain twelve medallions of the former, where the head of Cosmo fills one side and the reverse exhibits some of the memorable actions of his life. The workmanship is exquisite, and will stand the test of a comparison with that of the most beautiful medals of antiquity.

Cosmo honoured all these great men with his esteem and friendship, more valuable than his favours and protection, and he established an academy for the arts.—The magnificence of the buildings and monuments with which he embellished Florence surpassed those of his predecessors: he founded two cities, Cosmopoli in the island of Elbe, and Eliopoli or the Città del Sole in the Florentine Romagnia—he built a number of fortresses—he restored from its foundations the town of Artignano—he repaired great part of the walls of his capital—and drained the marshes of Pisa.—This ancient rival of Florence, of Genoa, and of Venice, which retained scarcely any thing of its original splendour, began to flourish again under his auspices. Yet its commerce afterwards declined, as that of Leghorn increased, where the Grand Duke was at a great expence in the construction of the port.—Aqueducts and fountains without number are existing monuments of his magnificence in works of public utility.—To perpetuate the memory of the battle of Marciano he erected on the very place where he received the news, opposite the church of the Holy Trinity, a superb Doric column of a single block of granate, which is still subsisting, and had been discovered at Rome in the baths of

Antoninus. On the top there is the statue of Justice, which insinuates that its cause had triumphed in the action.

Francesco Taddi.

Porphyry is the most precious of marbles, but it is the hardest and most refractory and brittle.—The Ancients, it is believed, had some method of working it, of which we are ignorant, and in Italy as late as the sixteenth century, great patience and great labour were necessary to bring it into any shape. After both it admitted only of a round or flat surface, and it was utterly impossible to carve on it any figure.—Cosmo, having discovered a quarry, wished a bason to be formed of it for a fountain, and the work was confided to Francesco Taddi. The Grand Duke undertook in person the tempering of the instruments, and he distilled a water from a variety of herbs, which gave an extraordinary degree of hardness to the chisel.—Taddi finished the bason, to which he added a pedestal, and after this experiment he engaged in some other works of greater difficulty. Three ovals of his workmanship have been particularly admired—one representing a head of Christ in demi-relievo, and the others those of the Grand Duke and his Dutchess Eleonora.—These facts appear sufficiently attested, though the art has been since lost.

The Grand Duke quitted the ancient residence of the elder branch of the Family, which was the palace built by "the Father of his Country," and purchased that, which Luca Pitti had begun in a style of royal grandeur and left unfinished. Brunelleschi's original design was endeavoured to be collected, and it was intended to be followed with the minutest attention.—If the external decorations are too simple, and the Façade has the appearance of too much rusticity, it has notwithstanding an imposing and majestic air. The Pitti palace, as it stands at this day, is a model of the great style of architecture and Tuscan taste, which were uniformly visible in almost all the ancient palaces of Florence.—This style of architecture had its rise in Italy, and it supported itself or rather revived in the fifteenth century.—Immense as the Pitti palace is, the project of extending it by the addition of wings has often been matter of contemplation, but the natural irregularity of the ground has been an insurmountable obstacle (*b*), and its owner has been obliged to

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(*b*) "Molti disegni sono stati fatti per fare al detto palazzo le ale, e fra gli altri uno ne fece Giulio Parigi, al quale fù comminciato a dare esecuzione nell' ala sinistra, ma dopo avere fatti le muraglie maëstre, l'opera rimase imperfetta, Come si può vedere nel Baldinucci, ne ce ne sa dare la cagione. Ma io credo, che dovendo quest' ale essere piautate sopra un gran declivio, difficilmente potevano tornar bene, non si accommodando l'occhio a vedere una finestra con la soglia, o davanzale pendente, e una più bassa dell' altra ; e perchè le due ale dovevan sempre apparire basse e meschine rispetto alla grande altezza dell' palazzo fatto del Brunelleschi, e piantato sopra la parte più alta della piazza. Il Bernino, che ha fatto le ale alla facciata di San Pietro, che sono pendenti, vi riusci, perchè la pendenza è senza comparazione minore, e le finestre, che vi ha fatte, son tanto enormemente grandi, che fanno scomparire la pendenza ; oltre di che l'interno di queste due ale di S. Pietro ha il pavimento declive, il che non da noja, essendo come una strada, che conduce alla chiesa ; dovechè nelle ale del Palazzo de' Pitti, dovendosi far delle stanze, i pavimenti avevano a venire in piano." *Bottari.*

to confine himself within the limits that Brunelleschi originally prescribed.

The superb gardens of Boboli (*c*), which the Grand Duke laid out adjoining to his palace, render it one of the most magnificent residences of the sovereigns of Europe.—Cosmo also founded a botanical garden, which has been since very famous under the direction of Micheli, who died a few years ago. In the study of mosses, the most difficult branch of the science, he was particularly excellent, and Linnæus gave him on that account the name of " the Botanical Lynx."

The first Grand Duke had by his consort Eleonora de Toledo five sons Francesco, Giovanni, Garzia, Ferdinando, and Pietro, and three daughters Maria, Isabella, and Lucrezia. He left also by Camilla Martelli his second consort a daughter Virginia, and by one of his mistresses

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(*c*) An Italian author has fancifully supposed the English style of rural ornament to have been borrowed from the Boboli Gardens. "Il giardino de Boboli, dove la magnificenza de' i Gran-Duchi Medicei transportò tutto il più bello dalla poësia e dalla storia in fatto de giardini si trova ricordato. Ed o poi con mio piacer sommo trovato parlando co' gli eruditi di giardinesimo, che primi Inglesi, i quali quel puerile che al presente si vede ne' i giardini di Francia e d'Olanda abbandonando, si diedero a quel rurale elegante erudito e filosofico, che ora tanto dalli stranieri generalmente s'ammira ne' i giardini Inglesi, ne presero le prime idee da Boboli, il quale fù e rimane anco al presente uno de' i più magnifici e deliziosi dell' universo. E qui fo una riflessione, che quella sempre gloriosa Famiglia de' Medici per non lasciare alcun topico della grandezza ed eleganza de gli antichi inespilato, anchè ne' i giardini volle il più bello della elegante e magnifica antichità richiamar dall' oblio, e nel suo anticho splendore nuovamente riporlo." *Martinelii*, *Lett. fam. et crit.*

Francesco de' Medici.

tresses Eleonora D'Albizzi two children Giovanni and Virginia.—Francesco the eldest son was born in 1541, and his father, who had always his temporal and worldly interests at heart, looked forwards to some great alliance, that might strengthen his power and increase his dignity. The youngest daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand appeared to him the properest person for both purposes; and under the persuasion that the influence of his pretended relation Pius the IVth and Philip of Spain might have great weight with the Emperor, he courted them by every method, and left nothing undone to secure their friendship. Francesco was even sent to Rome and afterwards to Spain. Whilst the young Medici, however, was at the Court of Madrid, an unfortunate dispute relative to precedence arose between him and Alessandro Farnese the son of Ottavio Duke of Parma and Margaret the Spanish Monarch's natural sister. At Florence this little difference was supposed to have been artfully contrived with the knowledge and at, perhaps, the desire of Philip, and they believed it to be a certain indication of his ill intentions, These suspicions seemed indeed to have some reasons to support them, for Alessandro Farnese, except as the nephew of the Spanish Monarch, had no claim whatever to the rank he insisted on, and the last of the Italian Dukes was certainly Francesco's inferior.—Both the father and the son, notwithstanding, prudently concealed their resentments and submitted to Philip's decision.

Receives the Government from Cosmo who resigns it.

Two years afterwards Cosmo resigned to his son, who had then reached his twenty-fourth year, the government of his dominions, reserving only his titles and his honours. The resolution seems to have been prudent, and it is what many able Princes have done, who had acquired a new sovereignty and transmitted it to their posterity. To give a greater degree of authenticity to the resignation, the act was publicly ratified with great solemnity and pomp in the presence both of the Grand Duke's council and that of the FORTY-EIGHT. From this moment Francesco began to govern Tuscany without waiting till Cosmo's death, to open the succession to him.—Cosmo, however, recommended to him a confidential counsellor, Bartolomeo Concini, a person of consummate knowledge and experience, whose son the Marshal D'Ancre has been unfortunately but too much celebrated in French History.

The Emperor Ferdinand dying, Francesco Medici sent an envoy to congratulate Maximilian on his accession, and at the same time to renew his solicitations on the subject of his marriage with Joanna, which had been so long in contemplation, and which he anxiously wished to be concluded. The new Emperor did not seem to oppose this alliance with his sister, but Sigismund Augustus King of Poland threw every impediment in the way, and proposed in opposition a treaty of marriage with John Sigismund Prince of Transylvania and the son of his sister Isabella. This honourable alliance for the young Transylvanian appeared also useful to the Emperor and the Court of Vienna, as this Prince, who was then connected with Solyman from the proximity of his dominions, might by these means have been induced to detach himself from the Ottoman Porte, and support in future the Austrian interest. John Sigismund, however, imagining the Emperor considered him as his dupe, and meant to treat him as Ferdinand had done, resolved to follow in return the example of his father, and he threw himself under the Sultan's protection.—Such connections have generally been fatal to the neighbouring Christian Powers, and the flames of a fresh dreadful war was again lighted up in Hungary.

The young Medici did not lose the opportunity of interesting Maximilian in his favour; he offered him a supply of troops and money, and in consequence Joanna was refused to Frederic King of Denmark, who was also one of her suitors. A report was propagated that the French King had given the Duke of Florence hopes of his sister Margaret of Valois's hand. Both the King of Spain and the Emperor suspected it, and as it might have been extremely prejudicial to the latter's interest, the match between Francesco and Joanna was finally agreed.—By a similar artifice Cosmo his father had gotten possession of the Florentine fortresses from Charles the Vth, and the city of Sienna from Philip.

In

In 1565 the Florentine Prince went into Germany and found his intended bride at Inspruc, from whence he repaired to Vienna to pay his personal respects to the Emperor, and then returned to Florence, where the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence.

Cosmo de' Medici was still alive, but his ill state of health did not permit of his interference in any thing.—Francesco had great difficulty in maintaining the title of Grand Duke, which his father had acquired, for the Emperor, notwithstanding Francesco's recent marriage with his sister, continued to oppose it formally, and the Spanish Monarch had never acknowledged it. These two Sovereigns even pressed Pope Gregory the XIIIth to annul his predecessor's decree, and to leave the discussion to the Chief of the Empire to which Tuscany had belonged. It was also represented to the Pontiff, that the Emperor as a friend of the Medici Family his new ally, would be charmed to have it in his power to oblige it in any other way, and that either the sovereignty of Tuscany or some other equivalent title would certainly be conferred on Francesco.

Whilst the matter fluctuated in this situation, Alfonso Duke of Ferrara commenced a process on the subject, and the cause was litigated before the Imperial tribunal. The Florentine Prince was under the disagreeable necessity of pleading before this tribunal, and defending himself before a judge who was himself a party to the cause, but his agents protested that they did not mean in any shape to compromise or affect in any manner the rights, the liberties, and privileges of Florence.—This cause was entered into with so much minuteness, and so long protracted by every art, that it was not expected to be determined very speedily. At last, it terminated to the satisfaction of the Emperor's brother-in-law, and his title was legally acknowledged and recognised.

His title of Grand Duke after a process in the Emperor's Court admitted.

After Cosmo's death Francesco governed his country with great moderation and prudence, but his reign proved barren of remarkable incidents and was not marked by any great events.—In 1576, when the troubles broke out in Genoa between the ancient nobles and those of later date, the Grand Duke supported the latter, though his assistance was not of any great consequence, as the two parties came to an amicable agreement and settled their differences.

Francesco's last years did not correspond with the happier commencement of his reign.—An unfortunate attachment overwhelmed him with disgrace and conducted him to a premature end.—Joanna his consort, the daughter, sister, aunt, and niece of Emperors, whom the Florentines always called Queen Giovanna, died in 1578, and the Grand Duke married Bianca Cappello, a Venetian Lady, who, though of one of the first Venetian fami-

lies,

lies, had disgraced herself by her conduct, and lived a long time previously with Francesco as his mistress.—History here becomes perfectly romantic (*a*), though strictly true, and the loves of the Grand Duke and his favourite were followed by the most tragical effects.

Bianca Capello

Some Florentine merchants had employed Pietro Buonaventuri, of a decent family in Florence, as their agent at Venice. The young man had an agreeable person, and he had the assurance to endeavour under false pretences to seduce the affections of Bianca Capello, a daughter of the illustrious family of Capello. His insinuations and artifices succeeded, he prevailed on her to quit her father's house—to throw herself into his arms—and to follow him to Florence.—The step was fatal, and she was soon reduced to want and misery.—From her education she was ignorant of every honest and industrious method of supporting herself, and to return to Venice was to be immured for life within the walls of a convent. Beautiful and artful, she determined to profit by her personal charms, and as she had sacrificed her honour she sold her beauty.—After she had lived for some time the life of prosti-

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(*a*) Mr. Tenhove observes that many authors have touched on this part of the Tuscan History, but that Mr. Hooft a Dutch writer had entered the most fully into it and was entitled to most confidence as he had resided many years at Florence.—Mr. Tenhove annexed in his notes very liberal quotations from Mr. Hooft, which I have omitted for two reasons.—They were written in old Dutch, a language understood only by a few readers, and I learned from Dr. Maclaine that the substance was also incorporated in the Text.

prostitution, a report of her attractions was accidentally made to the Grand Duke by one of his courtiers, and he determined to see her. The moment was decisive both for Francesco and Bianca Capello. At the very first interview he became enamoured. His attachment was not even attempted to be concealed from Bianca's husband, and the three personages formed what the Italians called "Il triangolo equilatero"—the equilateral triangle.—The Grand Duke liberally rewarded Pietro Buonaventuri for his complaisance, and the amour continued till Pietro's death. The Grand Duke soon afterwards became a widower, and having some thoughts of a second marriage with the hopes of a family he thought it most prudent to put an end to his connection with Bianca, and on the separation loaded her with presents and favours. But his attachment was too powerful to be conquered. Bianca had no sooner left him than she was recalled, and he conceived a more extraordinary project. "Of what use is "it," he reasoned with himself, "to look into uncertain "futurity for a son the object of my wishes? A short "ceremony, a priest, and a few Latin words will legiti"mate my son Antonio and enable him legally to succeed "me." With this resolution he sent for Bianca, and communicated his intentions to the Government of Venice. That State by the marriage of Caterina Cortona with the Bastard Lusignan had once appropriated to itself the kingdom of Cyprus and the island of Candia, and its ambition again revived. The Senate thought by such an alliance with the Grand Duke, it might reap some political advantages, and its leading members informed Francesco that they had adopted Bianca Capello as the daughter of St. Mark.—Francesco immediately married her, and from the caprice of Fortune a courtezan became one of the first princesses of Italy. Their union was however an object of public ridicule, and Italy echoed with the song,

Married by the Grand Duke.

> "Il Gran-Duca di Toscana,
> Ha sposata una putana,
> Gentildonna Venezinaa."

Her Character

Bianca Capello was endued with a thousand seductive accomplishments, but devoid of honour and of virtue, she became every day more and more ambitious and less scrupulous in the manner of gratifying her wishes.—Despairing of being able to preserve her station and that of her son, if Ferdinando and Pietro the Grand Duke's brothers survived him, and wishing to secure herself, she conceived the frightful scheme of removing the eldest by violent means. He was to pass by Poggio the Grand Duke's country residence in his way to Rome, but some whispers of what was in agitation had escaped, and Ferdinando was on his guard. An entertainment was prepared for him and a favourite dish, of which he was earnestly pressed by Bianca to taste from its having been expressly provided for him. Ferdinando pretended illness, and the Grand Duke who was ignorant of Bianca's stratagem but suspected his brother's reasons, to convince him of their injustice eat very heartily of the dish, which had been poisoned for his brother. Bianca rising up, observed the business was at an end, and in despair took the remainder of the poison.—The Grand Duke expired in terrible convulsions the same night on the 10th of October 1587, and the criminal Bianca followed him in a few hours.

Francesco's Death.

Francesco had reigned thirteen years from his father's death, and amongst the many monuments that he left of his magnificence and taste we may reckon his celebrated country residence at the "Vigna de Pratolino," which was finished from the designs of Bernardo and Francesco Buontalenti, the father and son. The former was an admirable architect, and Palladio whilst he severely criticised some of the fronts of his buildings did him justice in every other respect. The exterior of the palace is simple, but nothing can be conceived more romantic and picturesque than the surrounding gardens. The physician Vieri, the second Grand Duke's historian, hath given an ample description of them; and Montaigne, in his Tour through Italy, speaks with admiration of the grottos, fountains, labyrinths, and their evergreen retreats, which he had never seen before equalled. These gardens, kept up at a great expence, served a century afterwards as a model for the Fairy Ground of Versailles, in defiance of Nature and a most ungrateful soil.

The country residences of the Medici Family almost all belonged to the family previous to its elevation to the sovereignty of Tuscany.—Exclusive of Pratolino, the principal ones were Cafaggiuolo in the district of Mugello, in the form of a fortress built by "the Father of his "Country," after the design of Michelozzi; Careggi, about two miles from Florence, immortalized by its Platonic Conferences; Poggio at Cajano, the favourite retreat of the Great Lorenzo, and celebrated in the Rusticus of Politiano; Castello, on which the first Grand Duke expended an immense sum of money; Petraja near Castello; Lanbrogiana, Lapeggi, and Artimino.

Academy della Crusca.

Under Francesco the Ist, and about the year 1582, the rise of the academy "della Crusca" may be dated, though in fact it was only at first a kind of Committee of the Great Academy founded by the first Grand Duke. It was established by the efforts of Antonio Francesco Grazzini, and hath been of the same importance to Italian literature as the French Academy has been to that of France. Both the societies had the same views, though they appeared in very different times and circumstances. When the Academy della Crusca was founded, the Italian language had been established nearly two centuries, and governed by fixed and certain rules, laid down by writers of great ability and merit.—When the Cardinal Richelieu suggested the idea of the French Academy what writers had France? The simple Marot, Montaigne, free and licentious in his style, the timid Malherbe, the witty Voiture, and the bloated Balzac.

The name of "Crusca" originated from the labours of the Mill—the Bran and the Sieve; from which the society not only borrowed its device or motto, but its ideas for the furniture of its rooms. "Les meubles de la salle," Mons^r. Lande remarks, "répondent à la devise; on y "voit une chaire en forme de trémie, dont les dégrés sont "des meules de moulin. Le Directeur est assis lui-même "sur une meule, les sièges des Académiciens sont en "forme de hottes, et le dossier est une pelle à four. La "table est une pétrissoire, les papiers qu'on y lit se tirent "d'une trémie, et celui qui lit a la moitié du corps passée "dans un blutoir. Tout cela serait ridicule aujourdui, "si la réputation de cette fameuse Académie n'avait con-"sacré à l'immortalité ses attributs et son nom."

The Academy published a Dictionary of the Italian Language in six folio volumes, and a new edition appeared in 1729, into which many words that had been originally proscribed as barbarous, have found their way. The classical authors cited as authorities are styled "Au-"tori cruschanti," or "cruschevoli," and Villani, Boccaccio, and Machiavel are of the number who have fixed and perpetuated their native tongue.—Yet many Italian writers have revolted against the jurisdiction of "La "Crusca," and the authors of a periodical paper at Milan,

lan, under the title of "Il Caffe," expressed themselves with great good sense, freedom, and philosophy (*a*), against its arbitrary decisions.

The Grand Duke Francesco left by his first wife Joanna of

(*a*) "Cum sit che gli autori del Caffè siano estremamente portati a preferite le idee alle parole, ed essendo inimicissimi d'ogni laccio ingiusto che imporre si voglia all' onesta libertà de loro pensieri, e della ragion loro, perciò sono venuti in parere di fare nelle forme solenne rinunzia alla purezza della Toscana favella, e ciò per le sequenti ragioni. 1. Perchè se Petrarca, se Dante, se Boccaccio, se casa, e gli altri testi di lingua hanno avuta la facoltà d'inventare parole nuove e buone, così pretendiamo, che tale libertà convenga ancora a noi: conciossiacchè abbiamo due braccia, due gambe, un corpo, ed una testa fra due spalle com' eglino l'ebbero. 2. Perchè, sino è che non sara dimostrato, che una lingua sia giunta all'ultima sua perfezione, ella è una ingiusta schiavitù il pretendere che non s'osi arrichirla. 3. Perchè nessuna legge ci obbliga a venerare gli oracoli della Crusca, ed a scrivere o parlare soltanto con quelle parole che si stimò bene di riacchiudervi. 4. Perchè italianizzando le parale francesi, tedesche, inglesi, turche, greche, arabe, sclavone, noi potremo rendere meglio le nostre idee, non ci asterremo di farlo per timore o del Casa o dei Villani; o di tant' altri che non hanno mai pensato di erigersi in tiranni delle menti del 18 secolo. 5. Consideriamo che è cosa ragionevole, che le parole servano alle idee, ma non le idee alle parole, onde noi vogliamo prendere il buono quand' anche fosse ai confini dell' universo, e se dall' India o dall' America di se fornisse qualche vocabolo ch'esprimesse un'idea nostra, meglio che non la lingua Italiana, noi lo adopereremo, sempre però con quel giudizio, che non muta a capriccio la lingua, ma l'arrichisce e la fa megliore. ——— Protestiamo che useremo di quella lingua che s'intende da gli uomini colti da Reggio di Calabria sino alle Alpi; tali sono i confini che vi fissiamo, con ampia facoltà di volar talora di là dal mare e dai monti, a prendere il buono in ogni dove. A tali risoluzioni ci siamo noi indotti, perchè gelosissimi di quella poca libertà che rimane all' uomo socievole dopo tante leggi, tanti doverri, tante catene ond'è caricato; e se dobbiamo sotto pena dell' inesorabile ridicolo vestirci a mô degli altri, parlare ben spesso a mô degli altri, vivere a mô degli altri, far tante cose a mô degli altri, vogliamo, intendiamo, protestiamo, di scrivere e pensare con tutta quella libertà, che non offende que' principii che veneriamo."

of Austria two daughters Eleonora and Maria de' Medici, and a son Antonio, by Bianca Capello.

Giovanni de' Medici, son of the first Grand Duke.

Francesco's brother Giovanni, the second son of the first Grand Duke and Eleonora de Toledo, was Archbishop of Pisa and a Cardinal when he was still a child, Pius the IVth having resigned to him his own Hat. The youth of this Prince, who was his father's favourite, promised the most dazzling talents, but a premature and tragical death in the nineteenth year of his age destroyed at once the flattering illusion.—In a tour to the coasts of Tuscany the Grand Duke had been attended also by his third son Garzia, and the two brothers on a hunting party had been led by accident, or by their sport, to a distance from their attendants, when a dispute arose between them. From words they proceeded to blows, and Garzia, who was of a cruel and ferocious disposition, gave Giovanni a wound with his dagger of which he died instantly upon the place:

His tragical death.

"Misero mondo! è questa la speranza,
Di doverlo veder regnare un giorno,
Di trè corone inghirlandito al Tebro (*b*)."

The dreadful fray had passed in secret and without a single

(*b*) Bened. Varchi.

The Grand Duke interrogates Garzia respecting the murther of his Brother.

single witness, and Garzia with the greatest indifference and composure returned to his companions. When the amusement of the day was over Giovanni did not make his appearance, and his domestics spread themselves through the forest in search of him. His horse was at first found, and afterwards the Cardinal's dead body stiff and cold within the bushes. The melancholy news was immediately conveyed to Cosmo, who was then at Grosseto, and though wrung with anguish at the fatal accident he had the prudence to order it to be kept secret, and the body to be brought in the night into the town, and conveyed to the room adjoining to his own. By his orders also a report was industriously circulated that Garzia had over-heated himself in the chace, and been seized with a violent fever. Having taken these precautions he directed his attendants to retire, and Garzia to follow him to the room in which the dead body of his brother had been ordered to be laid. He then strictly examined Garzia, who, it is said, with great audacity positively denied the fact, on which the Grand Duke led him to the dead body and uncovered it.—Many writers have related the circumstance of the blood bubbling out of Giovanni's wounds on his murtherer's approach, and others have given several instances of a supposed similar appearance. " Il est constant," says Mezerai, " que " Richard Cœur-de-Lion étant venu à Chinon pour cé- " lébrer les funérailles de Henri II son père, le corps de " ce malheureux père privé de vie, et n'ayant plus la pa-

"role pour reprocher à ce fils son ingratitude et tous les "chagrins qu'il en avait essuyés, lança contre lui du sang "en abondance par le nez et par la bouche, comme s'il se "fût efforcé de lui dire,—soule-toi de ce sang dont tu "paraissais altéré."

It has been pretended also that the body of the Duke of Orleans, only brother of Charles the VIth, bled at the approach of the Duke of Burgundy, who had not then been suspected of the assassination, and attended with the Holy Water.—Mons^r. Valmont has even ventured to explain the phenomenon on philosophical principles in his "Baguette Divinatoire."—"Il sort avec agitation," he observes, "une grande abondance de corpuscules du "corps d'un homme qui fait des efforts pour se défendre; "ils s'attachent au meurtrier, et à ses vétemens. Lorsqu'on aproche de celui qu'on a tué, ils sont attirés vers "leur source naturelle; c'est leur aimant; ils entrent "dans les playes, et donnent assez de mouvement au sang "pour en faire couler quelques gouttes."

It is painful and melancholy to discover at the same time the force and weakness of the human understanding, and an absurd waste of its powers, in the words of Fontenelle, "de trouver la raison de ce qui n'est pas, et "ne peut etre."

Whether the blood appeared to flow from Giovanni's wounds, or was only visible on his dress, which had been naturally stained with it, “ Behold,” said the Grand Duke to his surviving son, fixing with tranquil fury his eyes upon him, “ behold thy brother's blood which cries “ for vengeance against thee, and expects it from Divine “ Justice by my hand.”—A mortal paleness spread over Garzia's countenance—he trembled—his whole frame shook—he acknowledged his guilt, but endeavoured to exculpate himself by saying the Cardinal occasioned the dispute, and that he had only deprived him of his life in the defence of his own.—“ How ?” replied Cosmo, who perfectly knew Giovanni's sweet and amiable temper, “ How darest thou in excuse of thy own detestable passions “ pretend to blacken the innocence of the victim “ thou haſt already slaughtered ?”—Taking the fatal dagger, which was then hanging at Garzia's side, and holding him by the arm, “ I am determined,” he added, “ to put “ to death such a domestic monster.”—He then fell down “ upon his knees—prayed for the approbation of Heaven upon the action, and for its pardon to a criminal son which the most unfortunate of fathers implored for him, —rose up—embraced Garzia in his paternal arms—thrust him to a little distance—turned his face, and plunged the dagger in his bosom!—Severity, perhaps sage and prudent, if the Grand Duke was led to it by the mere sense of justice, but still frightful, horrible, and unexampled!

Puts him to death.

From an apprehension that such a tragical event might shake the foundations of a recent sovereignty, the wretched father, as an able and judicious Prince, buried in silence a history which was only known to a few persons. The deaths of the two brothers were concealed for some days, and afterwards it was publicly announced that they had been cut off by a contagious disorder. The intemperance of the air had occasioned many epidemical complaints which had proved fatal during the summer to great numbers of people, and it served to strengthen the account that Cosmo propagated; but the Grand Dutchess did not long survive the horrible catastrophe, and died of grief.—The most magnificent obsequies were bestowed on both the brothers at Florence, and to conceal more effectually what was wished to be buried in everlasting oblivion a funeral oration was also pronounced on Garzia, and extraordinary praises were purposely lavished on his memory.

Leonardo Salviati pronounced the funeral oration on Garzia, which according to Father Negri was reckoned a wonderful production, as he had collected such a mass of materials respecting the life of a youth of fourteen years of age, and had amplified the subject with so much ingenuity, that he took three succeeding days in delivering it (*c*).—Where Father Negri collected his information

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(*c*) "Riuscì maravigliosa, perche per lodare un giovanetto di 14 anni, tanta materia seppe ritrovare, che fù bisogno dividere la detta orazione in trè giorni."

mation is uncertain, but the panegyric in question may be met with in the " Prose Fiorentine," and may be read in a quarter of an hour.

The Florentine authors of the times have been guilty of the same dissimulation, and some of them have carried the deception beyond all bounds.—Scipio Ammirato informs us " that the Duke Cosmo passed most of the " summer in the Maremmes of Sienna; that two of his " sons, the Cardinal Giovanni and Garzia, fell dangerously ill, either from the bad air or by the will of God, " and died one after the other, Giovanni first and Garzia " afterwards, without the most experienced physicians " being able to afford them any relief (*d*)."

Nothing can be more extraordinary than the audacious fictions of Pietro Vettori, in his funeral oration over the Cardinal Giovanni. " Such were the last words," he says, " he pronounced with his faultering lips, which I " relate word for word. Turning his mind and heart " towards the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, he " humbly beseeched them to intercede in his favour with " the Almighty, and to deign to procure for him by their

" prayers

(*d*) " Avendo il Duca Cosimo in quella state fatto longa dimora nelle maremme di siena per provedere a bisogni dello stato, o per cagion di quel' avia, laquale e tenuta cattiva, o perchè così alla Divina Bontà fusse piacuto, due suoi figluoli il Cardinal Don Giovanni e Don Garzia infermarono in guisa, che prima il Cardinale e poco poi Don Garzia, non giovando a ciò nulla l'esperienza de' Medici, si morirono."

“ prayers a place in Paradise. After which, as if St. Peter had descended, and was sitting on the pillow of his bed, he addressed himself to him, and requested from him as the worthy Vicar of the Divinity, the absolution IN ARTICULO MORTIS. Then raising his voice with a force that seemed to overpower him, he cried out, Fear not, Holy Father, all the efforts of your enemies; doubt not of the final termination of the present calamities. Whole nations may conspire together for the destruction of the Holy See, and the ruin of Christian piety, but all their vain machinations shall end in smoke. St. Peter's bark, the sport of winds and waves, though it may be dismasted will not founder. Worthy Pilot! fear nothing! Let your enemies tremble: temporal and eternal curses attend them, from which they cannot save themselves. Against you the gates of Hell shall not prevail (*a*).”

Benedetto

(*a*) “ Hæc fuerunt extrema verba quæ edidit, hoc ipso sermone prolata, et nullâ penè voce immutatâ. Quum enim primum ad Divos Petrum Paullumque mentem atque orationem direxisset, rogavit illos suppliciter, ut sibi adessent apud Deum Opt. Max. studioque suo efficerent, ut piam sedem salutaremque animo suo præberent, statimque tanquam ad præsentem Pont. Max. quem animo cernebat, verba fecit, a quo etiam, veluti vero Dei Opt. Max. qui nobis salutem dedit, Vicario, postulavit ea, quæ moris est eo tempore postulare, ut sibi scilicet ignosceret, manuque suâ sibi propitiâ se expiaret, atque omni labe purgaret. Quibus jam editis, altiore voce, et ita vehementi, ut penè omnis qui restabat spiritus cum eâ consumptus sit, inquit, Noli Pontifex Maxime pertimescere, noli impetum ullum adversariorum reformidare, noli dc eventu horum malorum tecum dubitare. Quamvis enim nonnullæ gentes conspirarint in perniciem Romani Principatûs, ac veræ Christianorum pietatis, nunquam tamen tantum virium habebunt, ut Petri navim, quamvis contrariis ventis agitatam, ac penè funditus scelere illorum

Benedetto Varchi expresses almost the same sentiments in one of his sonnets (*b*), and in another he describes Garzia as "a young and beautiful Angel of Light, hand in hand with his dearest brother, and leading an immortal life with the other Gods (*c*).

This

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demersam, evertere possint, ac justo gubernatore spoliare. Quin potius ipsi impii, non apud Inferos tantum, sed hic etiam, sui parricidii pænas luent, ac maximis meritisque suppliciis afficientur."—I have followed Mons^r. Tenhove: for his deviations from Pietro Vettorio he is accountable.

(*b*) "Non avea ancor del tutto al mondo tolta,
L'alma gentil, ne ben da lei diviso,
Ogni mortal quella crudel, che'l riso
Ne torna in pianto, e nessun prego ascolta;
Quando ella ambe le luci al ciel rivolta
Humilemente, e rimirandol' fiso,
Quasi aperto vedesse il paradiso,
Ebbe la lingua in tai parole sciolta:
Divo Pier, Divo Paulo pregate
Per me l'eterno bene, e tu Pio Padre,
Non temer l'empie inique schiere ingrate:
Contra Giesù non puonno armate squadre;
Dio regna sempre: e con queste parole,
Spari l'alma gentil qual stella suole."

(*c*) "Son questi, Signor mio, gl'alti trofei,
Ch'el bello e scaltro giovanetto ardito
Or da questo recarne, or da quel lito
Con tanti e tai dovea suoi Semidei?
Parche crudeli, invidi fati e rei,
Per lui non già—CH'AL CARO FRATE UNITO,
NUOVO ANGIOLELLO IN CIEL MOSTRATO A DITO.
VIVE VITA IMMORTAL TRA GLI ALTRI DEI.—
Me ben per noi, ma ben per quella nuova
Schiera di sacri Eroï, che perduto hanno,
Il lor Giasone a quel antico pari."

This profound dissimulation did not however at last prevent Truth from piercing through every disguise, and the tragic circumstances of this horrible event are no longer problematical. All the Modern Writers (*d*) are agreed respecting the fact, and they only differ in some trifling parts of the relation. The President De Thou is the only cotemporary author who had the inflexible integrity and courage to state the transaction in its true colours. The passage may be found in the History of his own Times (*e*), but it may be proper to add to it an extract

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(*d*) "Quum Joannes Cardinalis et Gratias, Medicei fratres, in saltibus lustrisque Pisanis cum canibus versarentur, suborta lis est inter utrosque; animique ita exarsêre, ut consertis manibus Gratias, Joannis coxam pugione transegerit: quo vulnere adfectus, paullo post ad Labronis portum naturæ concessit, dum annum ætatis ageret 19. Hoc casu audito, dici vix potest, quâ irà exarserit Cosmus, pia licet uxor nil prætermiserit, quo ejus animum iratum offensumque leniret. Tum fortè sanctissimi dies appropinquabant, quibus sacerdotes memoriam aecolunt exoptatissimi Christi adventûs: quum ideo sibi blandiretur Magni Ducis animum posse molliri, Gratiam ad patris pedes veniam imploraturum adduxit; at truculentus homo salutari uxoris consilio nequaquam se inflexit, atque ut exitiali proposito deserviret, extracto breviore gladio infelicissimi juvenis pectus transfodit, quo horrendo adspectu percussa mater, exanimis humi procubuit et obiit. Joanni et Eleonoræ Toletanæ more institutoque majorum parentari decretum est. Itaque Victorio impositum est utrosque elegantissimis orationibus laudare; in quibus rem acerbam, ac omnibus penè sæculis inauditam atrocitatem casûs, omnem aliam fortunæ iniquitatem superantis, dissimulare coactus est." *Bandini, Vita Victorii.*

(*e*) "Interea multa gravia ac molesta parenti ejus accidendum per filii absentiam cum uxore, ac domestico comitatu suæ ditionis oram maritimam lustraret; nam in familiâ longe gravissimum vulnus accepit, quod pari prudentia ac severitate texit et ultus est. Joannem Cardinalem et Garsiam filios secum duxerat, quorum ille major natu vix XVI annum supergressus fuerat. Inter eos ex pueritiâ æmulatione atrocia odia diu nutrita tandem in exitium utrique verterunt. Inter venandum cum seorsim à sociis per devia alter in alterum incurrisset, et se invicem pulsassent, Garsias Joantract from his Life, written by himself. "De Thou "saw at Florence the celebrated Vasari, and made some "remarks

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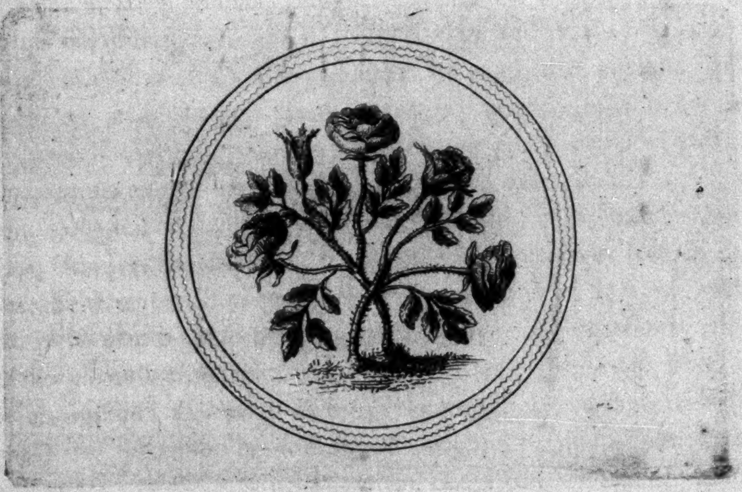
nem occupat, et ut erat truculenta et ad omne facinus parata natura, acinace cominus transverberat, statimque ad suos nihil fere turbato vultu redit. Venatione peractâ cum Joannes non compareret, jam inclinatâ die domestici ad eum vestigandum per silvam discurrunt, et equum sessore vacuum nacti, per ejus vestigia ad cadaver deducantur. Inde re ad Cosmum, qui Grosseti erat, per fidos perlata, ille suspicatus quod erat, quamvis ingenti dolore discruciaretur, dissimulato eo rem tegi imperat, et cadaver multâ nocte in urbem inferri et in conclavi ædibus suis proximo collocari, evulgato filium acutâ febre, quam dolores vehementes comitati sunt, inter venandum correptum vix loco, in quo eum morbus repentinus oppresserat, exportari potuisse. Tum semotis arbitris ad conclave venit, et sevocatum Garsiam ac de fratre interrogatum, cum vultus contumaci audacia factum pernegaret, ad cadaver accedere jubet, eoque renudato, et CRUORE AD PERCUSSORIS CONSPECTUM MOX EBULLIENTE, 'En, inquit, sanguis fratris tui qui ultionem à Deo atque etiam à me deposcit; me miserum, qui taleis filios genuerim, aut iis superstes fuerim, quorum unum immani parricidio necatum hisce oculis aspicere cogor; alterum, ni impius et iniquus juris inter meos dispensator sim e medio tollere, ipsâ pietate suggerante compellor; scelus est patri filium interficere, sed majus scelus admittam, si eum vivere diutius patiar, qui per fratris perniciem ad Patris necem et familiam totam cæde ac ferro evertendam gradum fecit. Tum fatente crimen Garsia, et rixæ principium dedisse Johannem affirmante, ita ut nisi peste fratris salutem propriam expedire non licuerit, Cosmus, qui mite Joannis ingenium nosset, pugionem, quo ille fratum confoderat, et adhuc cinctus eo venerat, supplici eripit, nudumque stringens, 'Hodie pestem domesticam, ne latius exemplo serpat, e visceribus meis avellere decrevi, et quanquam dulcissimi filii cædem non nisi alterius filii moribus disparis cæde expiare possim, malo me posteritas infelicem et durum patrem prædicet, quam imprudentiæ et iniquitatis arguat. Tu vero gaude, quod vitam qua indignus es, cum amittere debeas, in patris manibus à quo eam accepisti, depositurus sis. Quo dicto Deum comprecatus, ut factum comprobraret, et sonti filio gratiam delicti faceret, eum eodem pugione, quo fratrem confecerat, juxta Joannis cadaver interfecit. Calamitatem hanc paucis ac fidis tantum cognitam, ne sibi ac universæ familiæ nuper in Imperio fundatæ noceret, silentio præteriri voluit prudentissimus Parens ac Princeps, morte filiorum tunc suppressâ, et mox famâ sparsâ, ex populari morbo alterum post alterum extinctos: famam eam adjuvit cœli intemperies, qua plerique eâ æstate ex contagiosis morbis periere. Exequiæ deinde utrique Florentiæ magna pompa celebratæ, et Garsias in primis oratione publicâ laudatus, quo magis res tegeretur."

J. A. Thuani Hist. lib. 32.

" remarks when he was along with him on the pictures of " Giovanni and Garzia de' Medici. Having heard a " confused account of their fate, he privately requested " Vasari to inform him if what he had learnt was true. " Vasari looked down upon the ground, made no reply, " and by his silence sufficiently admitted the truth of what " was whispered in secret (*f*)."

Don Carlos, the Czarovitz, and Garzia, are three names which posterity will never pronounce without a sigh; and an involuntary tear will drop on the recollection of these unfortunate victims of the justice or the barbarity of their fathers.

(*f*) " Vidit et Florentiæ Thuanus Georgium Vasarium Arretium architectum et pictorem præstantissimum, et cum per omnia ab eo duceretur, et in effigies Joannis et Garsiæ Cosmi filiorum, de quorum calamitoso fato clam aliquid inaudiverat, incidisset, in arcano ipsum rogavit, an quæ jactarentur vera essent, et ille silentio annuens famæ occultæ fidem fecit." *J. A. Thuanus de Vitâ suâ, lib.* 1.



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